JPRS 75642

7 May 1980

Near East/North Africa Report

No. 2111

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BABRAK KARMAL DISCUSSES COUNTRY'S SITUATION

Beirut AL-HURRIYAH in Arabic 17 Mar 80 pp 8-13

[Interview with Afghan President Babrak Karmal in Kabul, date not given]

[Text] Babrak Karmal, the secretary general of the Afghan Popular Democratic Party, head of the revolutionary council and prime minister of democratic Afghanistan is a simple and friendly man. In the former royal palace, now the palace of the people and headquarters of the revolutionary council, he talked with us at length and with candor. Naturally it never left his mind for one moment that he was the head of a state that, as he put it, is in fact in a state of undeclared war with imperialism and domestic and regional reaction, a state that since early this year has been the subject of frontpage and cover stories throughout the world and the object of attention of everyone concerned with international politics. Therefore, he spoke as a head of state and as a leader of a party that leads this state.

The interview with him was lengthy and began and ended with us talking about Palestine. Every time the name Palestine or its people came up, he would add the description "heroic" and each time he wanted to define his position, he was clear and firm in proclaiming his absolute support for the Palestinian revolution and its patriotic goals.

However, we asked him about everything, not only about Palestine because we were aware of his position. We asked him about Afghanistan in its recent bloody past and its blazing present and its future, the outlines of which have not yet appeared.

We Had a Sad and Tragic Heritage

[Question] A little more than 2 months after the 27 December movement, the Afghan capital, Kabul, was the scene of open movements by the counter-revolutionary forces. How far have you gotten in coping with this new challenge and how would you describe the situation in Afghanistan at present?

[Answer] In fact, in this second stage of our revolution, we have a sad and tragic heritage. Immediately after the April 1978 revolution, after we defined the general outlines of the changes needed for our society, imperialism directed its efforts, through its agent, Hafizullah Amin, to divert our revolution from its true course and impose another course upon our society.

One has to say right out that the 1978 revolution also had its accomplishments and, by way of example, I can point to the agrarian reforms that were applied to a certain extent in the rural areas. Naturally the methods of work and application which were followed in the field of agrarian reform and all the social changes were exploited by imperialism to make these measures and even the revolution itself hated and to justify its interventions. In fact, after all these steps, the April revolution swerved from its true course.

If we look at the experiences of revolutionary parties and liberation movements throughout history, particularly those during the era when capitalism moved toward the imperialist stage and socialism became a force on the international scene, we see from time to time that agents of imperialism and reaction infiltrate into these parties and liberation movements. This infiltration has two goals: on the one hand, to impose multi-formed deviations on these movements and, on the other, to try to drown victorious movements in bloodbaths.

There are many examples from Vietnam to the revolutionary movement in Chile to the sister Palestinian revolution which has witnessed such conspiracies, not only on the Arab level and on the level of the Palestinian nationalist movement itself but within the revolutionary movements themselves.

We in Afghanistan since the founding of the party 15 years ago have always be exposed to such imperialist interferences within our party and within our movement and within our country. Before that, our country had seen many interventions. Even the Hitler fascists had intervened in the very core of the despotic monarchial regime. All these attempts at intervention and imperialist infiltration have left us with a long experience.

Such interventions have occurred within our party, within the revolutionary movements and parties, within our government and within our revolutionary movement with the goal of erecting obstacles in the road of the progress of democracy and our Afghan revolutionary process.

On the one hand, traditionally these interventions and infiltrations have been the work of black reaction, the radical right and the whole rightwing in our country and, on the other, there have been adventurous attitudes on the part of the radical left. So all together the rightwing and leftwing opportunism alike and the adventurous methods of the radical left and the suppressive methods of the radical right in our revolution and our society have for a long time constituted a constant source of serious

and profound difficulties and obstacles in the face of the revolutionary movement in our country. Certainly the shapes and approaches they have assumed in this regard in the course of our history merit serious study and examination.

Because of all these diverse forms of intervention and infiltration in the history of our country and our revolution, we now confront a sad heritage on all domestic and foreign economic, political and cultural levels.

Our Country Is Now Passing Through a Profound Crisis

Following the regime of Hafizullah Amin, our country entered a crisis stage with a multiplicity of forms, whether in the political, economic or cultural fields or on the level of the party, the government, the tribes, ethnic groups and sects. Our country is experiencing a profound crisis on all these levels.

However, despite all these conspiracies, traps and provocations and despite all the reactionary and imperialist attempts to turn Afghanistan into a base against peace and democracy and progress and against social justice--despite all these attempts, the love of freedom and feelings of patriotism of the people of Afghanistan and the Afghan Popular Democratic Party which embodies these feelings of the people have all been stronger. Thanks to them and thanks to the honest aid in various forms offered by the Soviet Union, our people and our party leaped forward on 27 December 1979 against all these traps, conspiracies and provocations and in so doing was able to put this country and revolution once again on their true road of principle.

Everything I have said so far has been to establish that we have a sad and tragic heritage. After the agent, Hafizullah Amin, seized power, he got rid of thousands of citizens, of intellectuals, engineers and doctors and all democratic and progressive nationalist forces. He eliminated and persecuted and jailed and killed thousands of their strugglers. There was no longer any mercy and there was no longer any trust left among the people.

Within the party and the government, there was extensive retaliation and fragmentation; feelings of responsibility and trust had completely vanished. All this came under the cover of revolutionary slogans and under the shadow of seeking to put power in one man's hands.

From another standpoint, American imperialism, in cooperation with the rulers of China, Pakistan, Egypt and Israel, worked, particularly after the Camp David conference, to set up military training bases for reactionary and counter-revolutionary Afghan elements on the territory of Pakistan and other reactionary Arab countries to prepare them to infiltrate into Afghanistan after they were trained. So hundreds of these persons entered Afghanistan to sabotage crops, kill women and children and destroy mosques, schools, bridges and roads.

All That Created Instability In The Country

One had to confirm that all these actions had created--and are still doing so--a certain instability in the country and one had to stress that imperialism had longstanding readymade conspiracies against the unity of our territory and our national independence. The plan that had been prepared called for separating away southern Afghanistan in favor of Pakistan and partitioning the country between the government of the Shah in Iran and the government of China.

However the convulsive leap of the Afghan people on 27 December confused the imperialist plan. Through reading our press and through interviews with our strugglers, you can apprise yourself of all the actions we took right after the beginning of the second stage of the revolution. We undertook a reconsideration of the democratic principles, we released political prisoners and we worked, and are working, on eliminating the highwaymen and criminals.

We Are Now Faced With An Undeclared War By Imperialism Against Us

There are now almost 50 military training bases in Pakistan working to export terrorists to Afghanistan with support from America, Pakistan, Britain, Egypt, Israel, Saudi Arabia and the chauvinist rulers in China. They have transformed Pakistan into an armed barracks; even Chinese arms, including modern weapons, are pouring across the Karakorum route into Pakistan and then into Afghanistan. The American dollar, the Pakistani (koldar), the petrodollar and the other currencies of the imperialist countries are helping to finance this campaign.

We are doing everything in our power to counter this broad assault. We have made steady and definite progress with regard to the unity of the party, the government, the armed forces and the whole Afghan people. Many segments of the population which had been mistreated, disdained and persecuted during Hafizullah Amin's regime are now turning toward us because they have a tangible feeling that we are serving the people.

A word in closing: I must stress that the final victory will be to the Afghan people. We are determined to fight to the end against all enemies of the Afghan people and to uproot reaction in our country. The victory will be to the Afghan people because our enemies will be forced to stop their intervention in our internal situation. Victory will be ours because we are not alone: revolutionary forces throughout the world are all with us, particularly the Soviet Union which is working uprightly to help us.

The Enemy's Ferocity Against Us Is Testimony In Our Favor

[Question] Your government is being to an extensive defamation campaign by imperialist and reactionary circles because of the assistance rendered to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, particularly on the military

level. However, if we examine the list of the members of the party leadership and the revolutionary council, we find a lot of continuity between the leadership machinery of the 28 April 1978 days and the new stage. Can you shed more light on this continuity?

[Answer] Above all else, it is a great honor for our revolution for the reactionary and imperialist forces of injustice to organize such a defamation campaign against us. We now feel that we are face to face with imperialism and, therefore, we believe that our struggle is a just one. In this area, imperialism has not been content with a media campaign but has organized the Security Council session and convened the Islamabad summit and has tried to conspire and intervene in our affairs in various ways. This is what permits us to state that we are in a legitimate position of self-defense.

From another angle, the history of the period following the October socialist revolution made it patently clear that the Soviet Union had always been a loyal friend of all the peoples of the world, had always been on the side of the forces of peace, democracy, progress and socialism and had done everything it could to assist liberation movements of the peoples of the entire world.

I might briefly reiterate that saying: "The more ferocious the enemy gets against you and the more imperialism falls upon you with its hostile movements, the more confident you become that you are taking legitimate positions of principle."

The heroic Palestinian people and all Arab revolutionary forces are fully aware of the nature of this campaign and this imperialistic media. If we study the struggle of the Arab people and the establishment of the state of Israel and then its use by American imperialism as an expansionist policeman in the area, we clearly recognize the forces that have defended and protected Israel and have worked against the Arab revolutionaries, against the progressive, democratic Arab forces and against the heroic, rebelling Palestinian people.

We in Afghanistan are now facing the same enemies who worked to place obstacles before our party, our legitimate government and our whole country. In the eyes of our Palestinian brothers, this is the best testimony to and the clearest proof of our legitimacy.

The April 1978 revolution arose through the common struggle of the active and covert forces of all the people and of the Popular Democratic Party as a vanguard of this struggle and because of the struggle of all the democratic forces in the country and the assistance ob objective conditions and the revolution's own circumstances in the country. Everyone sanctioned the legitimacy of the revolution immediately upon its victory.

However, the conspiracies of imperialism in our country did not stop. It exerted every effort to divert our revolution by seizing power through Hafizullah Amin. At that time, Nur Muhammad Taraki was secretary general of the Afghan Popular Democratic Party, chairman of the revolutionary council and prime minister. I myself was deputy secretary general and deputy chairman of the revolutionary council and deputy prime minister.

Two Thirds Of The Central Committee Are Still With Us

Amin seized power in the party, the government and the state. After organizing an internal coup, he got rid of the legitimate president, Nur Muhammad Taraki and set up a repressive regime in the country and its regional unity became truly threatened. In the course of countering this repressive regime and the monopolization of power in the party and the government by Hafizullah Amin and to cope with the threat to our national independence, most members of the revolutionary council and almost all members of the central committee sought the help of the Soviet Union to work for the success of the leap that had led to the transition to the second stage of the revolution.

Prior to this request, the Afghan government under the Taraki regime and afterwards had made 14 requests for the intervention of the Soviet Union because national independence was threatened but the Soviet Union had felt that the danger was not yet immediate.

However, conditions evolved and the 27 December 1979 convulsion emerged to establish nationalist and democratic principles in the country and the revolutionary principles within the Popular Democratic Party. Our revolution now constitutes a continuation of the April revolution. To respond more clearly to your question, I can refer to the following three points:

1. The mutual support and friendship treaty between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union goes back to the end of 1978 and provides that Afghanistan may request assistance whenever its territorial unity and national independence is threatened. At our request, limited numbers of forces from the Soviet Union entered Afghanistan in accordance with Article 51 of the UN charter.

2. More than two-thirds of the members of the central committee and the revolutionary council that emerged from the April revolution are now members of the central committee and the revolutionary council in the government of Afghanistan.

3. I am surprised how Hafizullah Amin who seized and monopolized all power in the country and who caused the death of tens of thousands of clerics and progressive elements in the country--I am surprised how this person who established a bloody, repressive regime can be defended by Mr Carter as the legitimate representative of Afghanistan. In that alone lies an explanation of the relationship between this person and the

interests of imperialism and how the efforts of Hafizullah Amin were directed toward helping imperialism in the job of overrunning our country.

We Hope To Win Over All Patriotic Elements

[Question] Since you returned to power, you have pursued a policy of alliance and a political opendoor policy domestically and a flexible and "liberal" policy toward the various segments and factions of Afghan society. Do you believe that this policy has begun to bear fruit? Is there a possibility in the near future of achieving the birth of the expanded national front which you have advocated?

[Answer] I have no objection to the word "liberal" if you put it in quotation marks. The present stage of our revolution is the stage of the national democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism. After we analyzed the economic and social characteristics of our country and the characteristics of the tribes and sects and other characteristics, we reached the conclusion that it was essential to establish a national front in our country. This then is an issue of principle, not a "liberal" issue.

At present, we have three ministers in the cabinet who are not members of the Popular Democratic Party and there are dozens of senior officials in the various ministries who were formerly in prison and who are affiliated with various currents of opinion in the country.

A number of patriotic elements have expressed willingness and enthusiasm for participating in the national front. One thing certain, the job of establishing and developing the national front is different in Afghanistan from that in other countries. Although we are still at the beginning of the task, indications so far available are encouraging.

We now have organizations for youth, women and workers and we have councils for cooperatives and agricultural leagues under the leadership of the party and within the framework of the national front. We are now in the process of preparing for the establishment of an independent council of patriotic clerics and will announce its formation soon.

The Economic Situation Is Difficult and Requires Great Effort

[Question] In your speech on 26 February before the agricultural congress, you talked about the deteriorating economic conditions of Afghanistan since 1979 and a few years previously. One of the specialized agencies of the UN has classified Afghanistan as one of the 25 poorest countries in the world. What do you see as Afghanistan's present and future chances for overcoming these specific factors and moving forward on the road of healthy economic development?

[Answer] In general, we have three kinds of economic programs.

A short range program which involves actions to provide security and to revive democratic life and principles and secure conditions for the work of the peasants and other workers of the country.

A medium range program which involves efforts to fill the gaps resulting from the economic conditions which have deteriorated during the past year and previous years, besides meeting the basic needs of the population. Then comes the 5-year plans and the rest of the long range plans.

Briefly, I can say (and you can refer to the economic programming documents we have released) that we will depend on all forces and all physical and spiritual wealth of our country and its surface and underground resources. We will try to repair the damage resulting from nature and from the domination of feudalism and the regimes that have historically been linked with imperialism in our country. We will endeavor to cope with the present economic crisis, relying on our own resources and, at the same time, with the assistance of all friendly countries, particularly the Soviet Union. This is what will in short order move Afghanistan into the ranks of the countries moving toward development.

I would like to stress and reiterate the importance of the upright and multifaceted aid, most of the time free, that the Soviet Union has provided us and that will make it easier for us to achieve the essential economic transformations in our country, to make up the necessary personnel and to depend upon ourselves for the subsequent development of the country.

I would like to make it clear to you that about 70 percent of Afghanistan's economic infrastructure was built with the assistance of the Soviet Union over many past years. The Soviet Union has provided us with a great deal of assistance in the fields of industry, agriculture and energy, in extracting and processing natural resources, in educational and cultural institutions and in building our national personnel staffing. So the credit for about 70 percent of our humble development goes to the assistance of the Soviet Union which most of the time was free. Any looting and raping of us was done by reaction and neo-colonialism.

Amin Kindled Ethnic and Sectarian Difference

[Question] Some articles in the foreign press talk about ethnic problems between the Pashtun majority in the country and the other ethnic groups, the Tajiks, the Hazaras, the Uzbeks, etc. How real are these problems and, if there are, how do you view ways to overcome them?

[Answer] Throughout Afghan history which goes back thousands of years, the various Afghan tribes and ethnic groups, the Pashtuns, the Tajiks, the Hazaras, the Turkomans, the Uzbeks, the Baluchis and others, fought side by side against the forces of outside dominations and all attacks coming from outside, most of the time in extensive mass movements. They fought in one rank and constantly.

At the same time, the regimes that were lackeys of colonialism and imperialism and the despotic monarchial regimes that represented feudal interests, particularly in Hafizullah Amin's regime, worked to kindle a high degree of severe differences and divisions among the ethnic groups. In the present circumstances, the forces linked with imperialism outside and inside the country are trying not only to deepen the divisions between the tribes and ethnic groups but also to intensify the differences between the various religions and sects. For example, they are trying focus on the differences between the Sunnis and the Shi'ites in the country.

We naturally view all these differences and distinctions as not an internecine matter and feel that by formation of the united national front, we will accomplish the unification of all democratic forces of all ethnic groups, tribes and sects in the country in order to continue the struggle and the course of the homeland. We are confident that our persistent struggle and the development of the economic structure will open the way for solution of the ethnic problems which can only be solved through the well-known, tested democratic solution.

What I can say then is that a solution to the ethnic issue will be found within the framework of a democratic solution which ratifies freedom of choice, the practice of religion and freedom of education and which works to develop individual cultures and languages and to evolve excellent economic relationships within the country along with the development and maturation of our revolution and within the framework of the next stage of our revolution. We will try to direct a final blow at this issue and end a solution for it once and for all and to codify this solution in a legal framework.

Our Position Is That Of the Democratic Front

[Question] When we read and hear official Afghan statements and the Kabul press and radio talking about the Camp David agreement and the Egyptian-Israeli alliance, Afghanistan appears to us as if it were one of the countries of the Arab steadfastness and confrontation front. Do you see a scope for developing your relations with this front and with all the Arab countries and forces that oppose al-Sadat's treason and the Camp David alliance?

[Answer] With regard to the issue of the heroic Palestinian people, our position is the position of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (the Afghan interpreter explained that what he basically meant was the political program in its interim and strategic portions which was discussed in another part). Our course, in summary, is to stand with you and with all democratic forces and the revolutionaries of Palestine and is working to improve relations with all progressive countries in the steadfastness and confrontation front and with all Arab revolutionary and progressive forces.

We take a hostile position toward al-Sadat's capitulation and the Camp David agreements and we will resolutely combat these agreements. We are deeply committed to strong unity between the democratic forces in the Arab world and throughout the world to defend the national rights of the people of Palestine.

Only in this way can one achieve the isolation of Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction, ensure continuation of the fight and achieve full victory.

Regarding The European Plans For "Neutralization"

[Question] There has been talk recently about Western European plans "to neutralize" Afghanistan. May we learn your position on them?

[Answer] I will state it in one simple, decisive and clear phrase: The domestic and foreign policy of Afghanistan concerns only the people of Afghanistan and they will permit no one to decide their place and impose a reactionary and pro-imperialist policy on the country. No reactionary or imperialist country has the right to impose its policy on us or to express its opinion or even to advise us about the future of Afghanistan and the road which the people of Afghanistan have chosen..

I Asked That The Pictures Be Removed From The Walls

[Question] One last and somewhat personal question: We have seen very, very few pictures of you on the walls of Kabul or even in the official offices of the party and the government; can you yourself give us an explanation of this dearth?

[Answer] It's simple. In many countries, particularly in Afghanistan during the regimes that were linked with feudalism and imperialism, and especially in the regime of Hafizullah Amin, political leaders had more love for themselves than they had a desire to serve the country.

I therefore think that every political leader must have his place in the hearts and minds of the people rather than statues and pictures.

I personally advised my comrades in the party and the government to avoid worshiping statues and pictures. I believe that the people will in the end decide how to categorize any leader who keeps his picture up.

In the next issue: "What Happened in Afghanistan and What Are the Specific Present Factors and Possibilities," a long analytic article about the Afghan experience.

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TURBULENT CONDITIONS OBSERVED ON BUS TRIP

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 9 Apr 00 p 3

[Article by Thomas Ross: "A Wall of Silence Around the Young Soviet Soldiers, Still Practically Children"]

[Text] On the Way to Kabul: Searches and Shooting

> "Rebels," whispered my neighbor....Shortly before Jalalabad, we pass over a bridge which is being guarded by two Afghan tanks and by policemen. Here, there seems to be a sort of boundary between rebel territory and territory of the regime. But one is careful not to draw such boundaries too distinctly. On the contrary, the blurring of all boundaries is symptomatic of the present Afghanistan: Between the territories, between opponents and collaborators of the regime, between reality and rumor....The leader of the rebels had said to us that all patriotic and faithful Afghans must now stick together: "We have driven out the English, and we will also drive out the Russians."

Kabul, in April--To the left and right of the road from the Khyber Pass to Jalalabad the poppy fields are in bloom, a carpet of orange, white, and green colors. In the distance, silhouetted against the bright blue sky, shimmer the snow-covered mountain ranges, in the north the Hindu Kush, in the south the Safed Koh. The bus is half full, and since its departure from the border in Torkham everybody has grown silent--the atmosphere is gloomy. From the loudspeaker, Afghan music is droning.

Suddenly the driver has to step abruptly on the brake pedal, and the bus stops so unexpectedly that we slide forward in our seats. Armed civilians are standing straight across the road. Two men holding old Kalashnikovs get in and perch in the back of the bus on the folded-up driver's bed, the barrels of their guns pointed at us; meanwhile, they are bawling at the driver.

Four more men climb in, two with rifles, two with pistols, each weapon of a different make, and they distribute themselves in different seats. The bus has to turn around, and we travel again in the direction of the Khyber Pass. We are searched superficially. The leader of the group, beardless, wearing a wool cap, delivers a short speech which I do not understand. The loudspeaker has grown silent, the passengers have to sit as still as model pupils. After a few kilometers, we stop.

On the left there is a table, around which five men are sitting and drinking tea. Except for our two guards at the back, the group gets out. The leader has his pistol pointed at the people around the table. Will there be an exchange of shots? After a brief argument, the pistol is put away and they shake hands with one another. Now each of us is thoroughly frisked twice for weapons by two men who have boarded the bus, and identity papers of some passengers are carefully examined. Subsequently our luggage is searched--even my toothpaste tube is unscrewed. One of the bus passengers, who speaks English well, whispers to me: "rebels." As he is about to speak again, he is ordered to be silent.

All Boundaries Are Blurred

The bus turns around, and we travel once more in the direction of Jalalabad. On the way we are stopped several times, at first by civilians, later by uniformed men, and finally in the center of the city. Shortly before Jalalabad we pass over a bridge which is being guarded by two Afghan tanks and policemen. Here, there seems to be some sort of boundary line between the insurgent territory and the territory of the regime. But one is careful not to draw such boundaries too distinctly. On the contrary, the blurring of all boundaries is symptomatic of the present Afghanistan: Between the territories, between opponents of the regime and collaborators of it, between reality and rumor.

At midday we are sitting around in a kabob restaurant in Jalalabad. Only now do my Afghan fellow passengers venture to speak. The six men were evidently members of the Hizbe-Islami (Islamic Party), which is shaping up more and more clearly as the most hard-hitting, best organized, and most motivated of all the Afghan resistance groups.

The leader, whom I estimated to be in his middle 50's, a thin, finely-chiseled face, had accused the bus driver of having driven past a control post, my friends tell me in a low voice. They were supposedly looking for a high-ranking governmental functionary, who probably was riding in the bus (in fact, for people in the Party and the regime, today every overland journey in Afghanistan is perilous: If they are found by resistance fighters, usually they are shot). The leader had said further that all patriotic and faithful Afghans had to stick together, that there was no intention of killing anyone on the bus if everybody behaved properly. He concluded with the assurance: "We drove out the English, we will also drive out the Russians. To this

end, we do not need either the help of the Americans or that of the Pakistanis."

Up to a few weeks ago, the stretch from Khyber to Jalalabad was considered to be relatively safe. Occasionally, travelers in private cars were stopped by Mujahedin (freedom fighters), and if they were unlucky their car tires were shot. After examination of their identification data, they were permitted to travel on. There were no Soviet soldiers and tanks along the road. In Jalalabad, the provincial capital of Nangrahar, the situation was to change abruptly.

One notices immediately that the atmosphere is strained. Three very young Afghan soldiers sat down next to us at the table, the Kalashnikovs between their knees. The driver, sitting at the adjoining table, interrupts an animated conversation with bearded, heavily built turbaned figures and calls to us: "We have to stay here overnight, the road to Kabul is closed."

In the last 2 months there has been much unrest in Jalalabad. The university had to be closed after resistance fighters had forced their way in and with threats had demanded that all lectures be stopped. Professors loyal to the regime wanted to continue teaching. A shootout erupted on the grounds, in which some soldiers, Mujahedin, and students were wounded, and ostensibly several were even killed. A number of woman students has disappeared since then. The police station was assaulted. Homes of party members were set on fire. Also, several collaborators of the communist regime are said to have been shot or stabbed in the street in recent weeks.

We spend the night on the main square in a small room, which has space for no more than four charpoys (wicker beds). The curfew is at 2100 hours. Armed civilians squat in the middle of the intersection. Whenever a vehicle approaches, one of them bellows with a hoarse voice: "Areschai" (Halt!). Whoever does not stop after two "dreschas" is fired upon. But every vehicle stops immediately and the driver says the password. In the course of the night, "dreschas" are called out hundreds of times; only in the early morning hours do the men find time for softly calling to cats and dogs. They seem to be enjoying the guard duty. There is incessant chattering and much laughter. Up to midnight, again and again a tank or armored personnel carrier clatteringly rolls across the intersection, occasionally accompanied by a truck containing soldiers. Some are Russian, others Afghan. Most are patrols.

The next morning, at first it is uncertain whether we will be allowed to continue traveling. The Peshawar-Kabul bus of the previous day had to turn back at the city limits yesterday. Later we hear that the road to Kabul has been closed for 3 days now. Nobody is able to tell the exact reason. We wait, we prepare for a second night in Jalalabad. But soon we are asked to board the bus. Every seat is taken: Men,

women, children, babies, businessmen dressed in urban clothing, and bearded Pushtus in white pants and shirt, dirty turbans on their heads.

Fighting in the South

Jalalabad lies in a fertile plain, with fruit orchards--lemons, oranges--many miles long. The road to Kabul runs, after about 15 kilometers, through a short tunnel, and there the landscape again becomes mountainous. Our bus has just left the city a few minutes behind it when we encounter a double row of stationary trucks--hundreds of cars, bumper to bumper. We drive past and in front of the small tunnel at the end of the Jalalabad valley we are directed into a parking area, at which dozens of large and small buses and station wagons are waiting already. Some have been waiting there since yesterday, some since the day before. We while away the next 7 hours here, uncertain whether we will spend the night at this place, will have to go back, or will be allowed to proceed to Kabul. Now and then there is running about and shouts of joy: But each time it is a false alarm. In the course of these 7 hours the chaos grows. A sort of fair is in the making. We lie in the grass, play cards and morris, doze.

Two MiG-23's whistle across the sky and disappear to the west, a mottled pair of MI-24 gun-helicopters clatter in the same direction. Later a second pair, then a third. Not long after, a Russian T-62 tank rumbles toward us from the direction of Jalalabad. In the course of the next few hours, it is followed by other Russian T-62 tanks and BTR-60 armored personnel carriers, alone or in pairs, and finally by a column of 14 Russian tanker trucks carrying motor fuel, headed by an armored personnel carrier, and in the rear there are armored personnel carriers mounted on trucks, half covered by tarpaulins and evidently unable to be driven.

A few times we hear shots, only a few, on the other side of the mountain, and once also from the direction of Jalalabad. Later I learn that there is fighting in the south. An ambulance howls past and soon returns again. We hear later that a truck driver has been shot by Mujahedin. It is said further that a village near Jalalabad is momentarily in the control of the rebels.

Growing impatience and boredom prevail among the waiting and increasing crowd of travelers. Towards midday, they are estimated at a few thousand. Crowded together in trucks and carryalls, water buffalos, sheep, cattle, and even a few horses are standing apathetically. There is bleating and lowing. Two monkeys, mother and son, provide a little entertainment. Chickens and ducks from the vicinity are scratching between the cars, small boys are selling biscuits and drinking water. A cow collapses in one car. It has become hot.

The Russians are not finding it easy to force their way each time towards the tunnel along the road, which is crammed with cars and people for many kilometers. Again and again Soviet tanks and armored personnel carriers have to come to a halt. Most of the Soviet soldiers whom we see are white Russians, blond, clear-eyed, young lads, still almost children, their faces fresh and unlined by life, and only the tank commanders look like tough pros: poker faces--a few of them Central Asiatics.

On both sides the crowd throngs around the Soviet vehicles. No word is heard, the crowd stares curiously and coldly at the soldiers, who are sitting up in the air, boxed in by Kalashnikovs or machine guns, and who manifestly feel uneasy, nervous, tense: When will they finally move on? A young soldier jumps out of the truck with his Kalashnikov to fetch water for his canteen. An Afghan policeman must clear the way to the canal for him. An invisible wall of silence and disapproval separates Soviet soldiers and the gaping crowd. The soldiers look up in the air, into the distance, but not into the crowd at their feet.

Early in the afternoon, an Afghan military column, trucks carrying crates, comes out of the tunnel, at its head and at the rear an armored personnel carrier. The column comes to a standstill. Immediately, the Afghan soldiers are surrounded, some get off, everyone speaks to each other, and the atmosphere is friendly and without tension.

We were just starting to count on spending the night between lemon trees in the meadows when the call sounds, "We are starting!" Among curses, threats, and shouts, hundreds of cars fight for a place on the road. We estimate that from beginning to end, the convoy is about 10 kilometers long, and later it will string out more and more. Three Afghan armored personnel carriers serve as an escort, two gun-helicopters circle off the mountain walls. A businessman wipes dry his perspiring forehead and says: "We are all afraid."

We travel through the tunnel, and behind it are two Russian T-72 tanks, their guns leveled at the steep mountain face which abruptly rises to the left. On the other side of the reservoir to the right, tanks and armored cars of a large Soviet military base sparkle in the sun. The eyes of the bus driver continually scour the mountain faces. The critical stretch is about 60 to 70 kilometers long, beginning behind the tunnel, leading through a sometimes narrower, sometimes wider valley along the Kabul River, and ending in the canyon of Sarobi, strangely enough not at its outlet, but right in the middle of it. There, Mujahedin expertly blew up a stone bridge weeks before.

A Convoy With Casualties

The cars jolt along a one-way temporary road, a snug fit at the shoulder, so to speak, with a rock wall. Four Soviet tanks have stationed themselves here. The soldiers, young, blond, white-skinned men, appear relaxed;

they are whiling away the time by throwing knives at a crate placed on one of the tanks. At the side of the road lie crates containing fodder. Below, in the raging, deep-cut river, a detachment is trying to pull an armored personnel carrier out of the water with the use of a worm-gear mechanism. How did it get in there?

Our bus, passing one car after another, takes 2 1/2 hours to go from the tunnel to the bridge where the escort leaves the convoy--because the last part of the canyon is considered safe. It gets dark. We had come to a halt twice. Twice the Afghan tanks had shot into the mountains, apparently aimlessly.

On this stretch we count 16 burned-out trucks and one burned-out Afghan armored personnel carrier, caught in a tank trap. Again and again we see stones of all sizes lying on the road, and at the foot of the steep faces we see boulders weighing several tons. These roadblocks have been cleared away only in a makeshift fashion. At two spots the road has been dug up, and the cars perform a sort of slow egg dance over them. In the middle of the valley one sees the remains of a tree snare, and in the stone desert a small grove is growing.

The technique of the Afghan guerrillas is age-old--to block roadways in order to suddenly attack in these places by shooting down or climbing down from the mountain faces. These steep, broken, bare mountain walls, jagged and full of crevices, are filled with debris and boulders from bottom to top.

Nomads with their camels and asses camp out unconcerned in the Sarobi Canyon. We encounter caravans of wood-laden camels and flocks of sheep. Also a few bicycle riders. Once, just when there is shooting and the Afghan soldiers are running around a bank of rock, two boys and two men placidly collect cartridge shells from the road beside the stationary convoy. In a broad valley, we had to pause so that the convoy could close ranks. A tall, white-bearded mullah together with six other pious persons spread out their prayer mats, knelt down, and bowed their heads toward the sinking, striated sun. From a little hillock, local residents looked unmoved, still as stones, at the convoy. Back there we could spend the night if necessary, I said, and pointed across the river to a village of brown mud huts. The others shook their heads and made the gesture of cutting the throat: We would not be welcome there, they said--to the people over there, we belong to the convoy, we are traveling to the capital, we are serving the hated government. In Kabul, I hear on the next day that at the end of the convoy there was shooting at dusk, but nobody was wounded. Two days later, some passengers in a bus are attacked, and a woman is killed.

12114
CSO: 4403

PAST PALESTINE EVENTS SEEN AT ROOT OF SITUATION IN IRAN, AFGHANISTAN

Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 26 Feb 80 p 1

[Editorial: "The Greed of the Giants"]

[Text] Since the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviets and the Islamic conference in Islamabad, a sharp debate is taking place in our Arab and Islamic world about the greed of the two giants, the United States and the Soviet Union, and about which of the two is more dangerous and poses more threat to our existence and our welfare.

Some Arab and Islamic voices are heard saying that the Soviet invasion will not stop at the Afghan borders. The Soviets would like to take a few steps further to reach the Gulf waters and to control the sources of petroleum. Other Arabs and Moslems say that this attack is being overblown by the American agencies to frighten the Arab and Islamic nations so that they may both run for protection under the American umbrella and ask for protection, after signalling surrender of all their bases and resources. In the middle of this stormy debate, the truth is almost lost and the history of events is almost forgotten.

If Jerusalem had not fallen, Kabul would not have fallen. Had the road to Jerusalem not been invaded, the road to Khurasan would not have been trodden. This loud resounding opinion is expressed by the people who do not follow the rulers who base their evaluations of events on the effect of these events on their comfortable positions from which they derive wealth and authority.

Those who study history with an unbiased mind, and analyze events with objective eyes, can see a strong connection between the Palestine invasion of 1948 and the Afghan invasion of 1980. They can see a strong connection between the fall of Jerusalem in 1967 and the fall of Kabul in 1980. It is the Palestine problem which opened the doors of the Arab and Islamic East to Soviet influence, laid the foundations of enmity to America in the Arab and Islami world, led to the instability of government regimes in several Arab and Islamic countries, and was at the root of the Islamic revolution in Iran and the explosive situation in Afghanistan. There may be more to come.

Those who try to divert our attention from the real source of danger to our existence to other dangers make a mistake. Their efforts are wasted on trivialities, and do not get to the real truth and the origin of the disease.

We cannot deny that the Soviet Union proved its friendship on more than one occasion, and demonstrated its support in more than one situation. We also cannot deny that the United States demonstrated its enmity to the Arabs in several situations related to the Palestine problem from 1948 until this day.

However, we should blame no one but ourselves and the Arab rulers from the [Atlantic] ocean to the [Persian] Gulf.

9455
CSO: 4802

FLOW OF U.S. ENVOYS SEEK ALLIANCE WITH REACTIONARY COUNTRIES

Jerusalem AL-SHA'B in Arabic 17 Feb 80 pp 1, 5

[Editorial: "The Fatal Weak Point"]

[Text] These days, one might think that Middle East capitals have turned into offices for the American foreign and defense departments and headquarters for the American National Security Council. A steady stream of emissaries has been coming to our region for months, in a more concentrated way than ever before.

Our first reaction to the sight of representatives of imperialism roaming freely in the Middle East is to recall with a sense of loss those splendid days in the 1960's when public demonstrations in the streets of the Arab capitals forced erring regimes to cancel the visits of American emissaries or to meet with them in secret.

From Brown and Brzezinski, to Christopher, Linowitz and McHenry, all the American emissaries are trying during their visits to set and execute the final plans for the new imperialist alliance in the region, which will include Israel, the United States and the reactionary countries of the Arab world, Asia and Africa.

The American envoys no doubt met in the capitals of the reactionary countries with welcome and agreement to join in the execution of the American plan. But they also no doubt met with insistent pleas for protection from the manifest Palestinian presence which prevents them from openly declaring absolute allegiance to Washington.

All the facts and realities of this century seem to fail to register in the brains of those who set American strategy. McHenry emphasizes that his administration is determined not to deal with the Palestine Liberation Organization. In other words, his government is determined to ignore the central link in the chain of conflict in the Middle East.

We anticipate that the United States and the Sadat regime will perform some plastic surgery on the weak autonomy program in order to lure our people into their nets and push the reactionary countries into declaring official support of the policy of Sadat and allegiance [to America].

9455
CSO: 4802

SPECULATION ON ASSAD'S FALL, ITS RESULTS DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 20 Mar 80 p 9

[Article by Ze'ev Shif: "Speculations on the Possible Effect of Assad's Fall"]

[Text] Foreigners returning from Syria say that many in the diplomatic corps are convinced that the country is on the verge of a civil war which would be very difficult to prevent. Moreover, the estimate is that Assad's regime has no chance of recovering from the mess in which it now finds itself. They do not set a date for his overthrow, but the estimate is that the Syrian Ba'ath regime, headed by Assad and the 'Alawi group, is about to end.

It is possible that this estimate, cautious as it is, is an exaggeration. It is clear, though, that Assad's regime, which for years was known for its stability, has reached its peak and is now on the decline. Assad is not facing an opposition of a party faction or an officers' group, but a popular opposition. This is an opposition based on religious and ethnic reasons against a ruling minority. This situation is very difficult to correct. Even if the revolt is suppressed, there will be quite a residue, and the resistance will flare up at another opportunity. Israel is aware of the situation in Syria, and, as usual, the question is asked: is it good for the Jews? What is in Israel's interest, that Assad remain in power or that he fall?

The Red Line

No matter what the estimate is regarding the dimension of the Syrian uprising, one thing is clear: something serious is going on there. Only very little of what goes on in Aleppo, Hama, Latakia and elsewhere is leaked to the outside. Damascus does its best to prevent reporting what is happening. It is isolating the north and especially the cities where the revolt is taking place. Western reporters are banished or their entry to these areas is barred. The cities where there is civil uprising were surrounded by large military forces on a number of occasions and entry to them was barred. Foreign reporters have no way of covering the situation, as they have, for example, on the West Bank. Information on Syria leaks out in dribbles. Thanks to the

stubborness of a few sources, and the alertness of a few reporters such as, Michael Gordon of Kol Israel we receive partial information on what is going on there, starting with the murder of Soviet advisers, bus ambushes and mass murders and ending with the surrounding of whole cities.

At this point, Damascus has ordered one of its armored units to go north and surround Aleppo. The unit is Division 3, which is usually stationed near Damascus to protect the regime, and which is considered a potential high command. The hasty withdrawal of some of the Syrian forces from Lebanon, after an effort was made to leave some Syrians behind as a buffer between the feuding forces in Lebanon, shows the urgency of the matter. It actually points to Assad's decision to prefer the solution of his own internal problems to Lebanon's problems. In addition, Syrian commando units were withdrawn from Lebanon. Those were probably intended to remain behind, but were hastily transferred to northern Syria. The first impression was that the Syrian forces which surrounded Hama and Aleppo were content with pressuring the rebels from the outside, but it now seems that this is no longer the case. The army opened fire at the rebels and there were civilian casualties, among them a number of boys.

In experts' opinion, the "red line" will be Assad's decision to order fire on the rebels, without any distinction. At that point, many officers will face a difficult dilemma of whether or not to obey. Obviously what keeps Assad in power is the loyalty of the army and the willingness of the officers, Suni or 'Alawi, to obey. The danger for Assad is that massive fire will open cracks in this loyalty. In that case his fate is sealed.

The disease of the ruler's brother, Raf'at Assad, a senior army officer, does not contribute to the stability of the Damascus regime. It is known that Raf'at is suffering from an ailment which has affected his inner ear, be it a malignancy or an injury caused by an attempt on his life.

It would be a mistake to assume that opposition to Assad is religious only. Prof Itamar Rabinovitz says that the Moslem Brothers (who claim that Assad's regime lacks legitimacy because he is not a true Moslem) are but the spearhead of the opposition, and that resistance exists among other segments, including urban society which is more liberal.

The key question for us is what is Israel's interest. Is it going to be better for us that Assad fall and other leaders replace him, leaders about whom there is no knowledge today? This situation is reminiscent of past ones when Israelis were asked, or asked themselves, whether Nasser's downfall would help Israel or make things more difficult. Americans used to claim that Nasser may be replaced by an extreme leader of the Moslem Brothers. They also said that Nasser alone, because of his prestige in the Arab world, could make an agreement with Israel. Years have gone by. Now, commentators and other American experts admit that Nasser never wanted peace with Israel and that all he wanted was to destroy us. Strong as he was, he did not manage to avoid war at a time which was not suitable for him. He was not replaced by a religious fanatic, but by a man who did attack Israel, but who signed a peace treaty with her and recognized her.

Therefore, it cannot be concluded that Assad, cautious, sober and considered intelligent, will necessarily be replaced by an extreme Syrian, an adventurer, or a war monger. The fact that the Moslem Brothers are behind the Syrian uprising does not imply that they will inherit the Ba'ath in Damascus. It is reasonable to assume that in the first stage following Assad's overthrow, Damascus will be ruled by Sunnis who will have to assume an extreme position on the Israeli issue. It is also possible that in the first stage they will respond to Iraq's courtship. But when things settle down, other routes may be sought. Starting with a way for a dialogue with the United States and ending with renewed ties with Egypt. The Egyptians insist that when the 'Alawi Assad falls, Syria will return to its natural spot, near Egypt.

In other words, from Israel's point of view it cannot be assumed that there is anything to gain, as far as can now be seen, from Assad's continued rule. With a weak Assad, who can neither swallow Lebanon or unload it, and who cannot overcome his internal difficulties, we may, perhaps, have some temporary respite. But, along with this gain, there is also the danger that Assad may decide that the only way out of his isolation and internal problems is a conflagration on the Israeli border, with or without the terrorists.

Developments in Lebanon

In any event, Israel does not interfere with what is going on in Syria. This is the official line (it is too bad that we are not addressing the Syrian population and supplying it with information on what is going on in Syria. There is no doubt that many Syrians listen to Kol Israel's Arabic broadcasts). Damascus complained that Israel intends to take advantage of the situation and attack Syria. It is possible that there are those in Israel who think that this is a good opportunity to break Syria's military might, but the official line is different. Israel has no interest in a military conflagration between itself and Syria. This has to be avoided. Israel is maintaining a low profile.

A few words on the situation in Lebanon following the retreat of many Syrian units. For the time being, the delicate balance remains, although the Syrian wedge between the feuding forces has been lowered considerably. If indeed national peace came to Lebanon we would most likely see changes there, even on Maj Haddad's strip along the border with Israel. But the relative quiet is no sign of national peace. The two main phenomena are: massive realignment of the terrorists, the various organizations and the Palestinian "liberation" army along the coast from Beirut to Tyre. The coastline is now under virtual Palestinian rule. They are equipped with tanks, artillery, armored cars and more. They even have a port (Tyre) at their disposal, which they are now cleaning up. This is a Palestinian ex-territorial area within Lebanon, with all its implications. It is obvious that if Israel is attacked or provoked again, the IDF will not just sit there.

Another phenomenon that ought to be watched is the strengthening of the Shiite faction in Lebanon. At one time, the Shiite, most of whom live in the southern part of the country, were considered insignificant primitive farmers. Now,

their power has grown through their organization al-Amal (among other things, they managed to prevent, with threats, the visit of Qadhafi to Lebanon). Their being Shiite does not necessarily mean that they are anti-Israel. They oppose the terrorists and are willing to work against them with as much determination as the Christians. This is a rising power which Israel should find a way to, just as we have found a way to the Lebanese Christian community.

8646
CSO: 4805

VIEWS OF GAZA STRIP MAYOR QUOTED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 20 Mar 80 pp 9, 10

[Interview with the mayor of Gaza: "The Palestinian solution as Proposed by the Strong Man of the Gaza Strip"]

[Text] "Gaza--special report--A delegation from Gaza, headed by Mayor Rashad al-Shawwa returned home after participating in a convention of Arab cities which was held in Doha, the capital of Qatar. The delegation also visited Beirut and Amman, met with PLO leader Yassir Arafat and with the joint Jordanian Palestinian committee from which it requested funds in addition to what was allotted to the Gaza Strip..." This excerpt appeared on 15 March in AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT (The Middle East), which is intended to be a daily paper, but is currently published every other week by Jamil al-Shawwa, a relative of the mayor.

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT is intended primarily for the Gaza Strip. The license for its publication was granted by the military authorities as part of the new policy, which considers the publication of newspapers and magazines by the Gaza Strip people as part of the normalization effort on the way to autonomy.

Rashad al-Shawwa, who returned last week from an extended trip to the Arab countries, does not get overly excited with autonomy and other plans of the military authorities regarding the Gaza Strip. The only solution which the "strong man" of the Gaza Strip sees is the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and east Jerusalem. In his elegant office in the city municipal offices (which are not quite as elegant), al-Shawwa stresses that "without Arab Jerusalem, or what you call east Jerusalem, there is no solution. This is a city which is holy to hundreds of millions of Moslems and is part of the total solution."

Nothing To Lose

He proceeds to stress: "You, first of all, have to stop new settlements and pull out of the old ones. If you want Jordan to be part of the picture, you have to meet these conditions, which are minimal for it," the mayor says. He continues that he just returned from a meeting with King Hussein and Yassir Arafat. He met with the latter three times. "They and other leaders that I met are desperate. But now they are beginning to be indifferent.

Rashad al-Shawwa, a wealthy land owner of the Gaza Strip (mostly orchards) is part of a vanishing generation in the Strip. He clearly leans toward Jordan but maintains close, some say excellent, relations with Yassir Arafat and other leaders of the moderate faction of the PLO (he himself attests to that). He is 71, a contemporary of Anwar Sussayba, Anwar al-Khatib and Hishmat al-Masari--the leaders of those supporting Jordan on the West Bank and east Jerusalem.

He is dressed elegantly but conservatively--a dark suit of quality material, wears a gold watch and speaks fluent English. His whole appearance is that of power and respect. He passes out orders to his assistants in a quiet voice. Al-Shawwa was not elected mayor, since there have been no local elections in Gaza since 1946. He was appointed mayor shortly after the Six Day War, resigned in the early seventies, and resumed office 1 year later. He respects former Defense Minister Dayan (although he vehemently opposes his policies) and knows other leaders, too, with whom he met (Shimon Peres, Ezer Weizman).

Al-Shawwa does not have too much hope in either Peres or Weizman. He presents a very pessimistic picture, and it seems that his mood has only become more so during his visit to the Arab countries. "We," he says, "are moderates, but we feel we have nothing to lose. We are willing to remain under occupation another 20 years, because we are regressing, not progressing, and all because of 'the Begin group.' I am desperate. You encourage those who cooperate with you rather than recognize the central national groups."

"I have just returned," the mayor continues, "from a tour on the beach. People whose friendship you, the Israelis, want and who cooperate with you, are building there without supervision. They are ruining the beach. I, as mayor, have no say in the matter, since they are proteges of the military authorities. How can this go on?"

"I know Shimon Peres," says Rashad al-Shawwa, "Even if elections were held now and the Alignment replaced Likud, I do not have too much faith in Peres. I remember him when he was transportation minister, and when he dedicated a fishing pier here in Gaza and mentioned in his speech that the Strip is an inseparable part of Israel and that we had better get used to the idea."

"Jordan," says al-Shawwa, "has important connections with the future Palestinian state. We are much closer to Jordan, Lebanon and Syria than to Egypt--mentally and by a common heritage. The Egyptians are different from us. But Jordan will be able to take part in what happens only after Israel recognizes the rights of the Palestinians."

Changeover at the Helm Only

Rashad al-Shawwa talks openly and does not hide his opinion on any subject. At the end of 1971, al-Shawwa hid in his cellar the then Gaza Strip terrorist leader Zayid al-Hussayni who later committed suicide when he realized he could

not leave the Gaza Strip. The case had a lot of repercussions in Israel, but the then Defense Minister Dayan decided to leave al-Shawwa in office. "I talk openly," says al-Shawwa. "What are you going to do to me? Are you going to put me in jail? I am 71 years old. I do not think you can do that."

He criticizes and completely knocks the self-rule proposed by Israel. "Self-rule of the type that you propose," says al-Shawwa "is what we have had since the Egyptians were here. All the various offices--education, health, agriculture, transportation, etc.--are manned by local people. Each department had a chief clerk who was promoted by Israeli authorities to department head. But even now, as department heads, they do not dare do anything without the approval of their superiors in the military authorities.

"While the Egyptians were here, the last word was theirs; now it is the Israelis'. What kind of self-rule is this? The Israelis have left the various departments the way they were during the Egyptian rule. Only the supervisors changed. Now you have appointed a local person to be department head, so to speak, and the autonomy you are talking about is already in action.

"What kind of an autonomy do you want? You are proposing to relocate the headquarters of the military authorities out of Gaza, 6 or 7 km southward. Defense Minister Ezer Weizman told me that and I laughed in his face. What difference does it make if the building is 6 or 7 km south of the city or is in Gaza proper? If you moved it 4 km east of Gaza, beyond the 'green line,' perhaps it would make a difference. But remain within the Strip?

"This is a ridiculous move. If you intended to create a real autonomy you would prepare the local clerks for real self-rule without Israeli intervention and without them having to ask you or receive orders from you on each large or small matter."

Rashad al-Shawwa predicts a difficult future for Israel if the Palestinian problem is not solved. "You may be able to hold on another 10, 15 or a maximum of 20 years. But what will you do when all the Arab countries are equipped with sophisticated weapons and the technological gap is bridged? When more and more Arabs join the ranks of high school and college graduates? Will the United States help you for ever?" Without the United States, he thinks, Israel will collapse within 24 hours. "You Israelis boast your knowledge. Where does it come from? The United States, who will have the same fate as that of Great Britain which declined from power.

"You will be facing 650 million Arabs. What will you do then? You Israeli have to understand that the solution of the Palestinian problem is vital for you, first of all. The sooner you solve the problem, the better off you will be, because it is your problem. You have to do all you can to be our friends, understand us and integrate yourselves in our region. If you become integrated in the region, there may be a chance for Israeli-Arab coexistence. I

do not mean that you will be thrown into the sea--but that you are committing suicide if you do not try to understand and solve the Palestinian problem."

"As for normalization," says Rashad al-Shawwa, "a Gaza Strip citizen now pays IL500 in order to travel to Egypt via Ne'ot-Sinai, instead of IL16,000 via the round-about route through Jordan. Obviously everyone prefers--including me-- to save money and go to Egypt directly and cheaply rather than indirectly and expensively. Does this mean normalization? Not for me, and not for other Gaza Strip citizens. Whoever tells you that most people in the Gaza Strip are pro-Egyptian does not know what he says."

"Those pro-Egyptians with whom you talked," he says, "are but a bunch of opportunists, and some even cooperate with Israel. Most of the citizens are loyal to the national line which considers the PLO as its representative. Most of the people in the Gaza Strip are not inclined toward extremism. They do not support the rejection front within the PLO, and neither do they support the rejection front within the PLO, and neither do they support Israel or Egypt which is trying to implement the peace agreement with Israel (al-Shawwa thinks that Israeli-Egyptian relations will soon hit a snag)."

"People here," he says, "support the central national line within the PLO, the FATAH (which is now close to Jordan and friendly with it)." This is the secret of Rashad al-Shawwa's power in the Gaza Strip--his close relations with Jordan and the leaders of the PLO in Beirut. This is the consensus that leaves him not only as Gaza's mayor, but also as the most influential and and acceptable person among the Gaza Strip people.

8646
CSO: 4805

ARAB FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF TERRITORIES SEEN AS SERVING SELF RULE

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 20 Mar 80 p 17

[Article: "With Growing Financial Support from Arab Countries West Bank Is Becoming Less Dependent on Israel"]

[Text] It is difficult to be a military governor. This is more so when the governor has no money. Those in charge of civilian services on the West Bank are expected to be content with what is budgeted for them and to count on financial help from Arab sources.

The civilian budget for Judea and Samaria is now being planned. It is already clear that it will be increased to IL3 billion. This sum is larger by one-third than the past year's budget, but high inflation rates are forcing all military governors to cut services in order to keep going.

Distorted Budget

The main distortion of the budget of the military authorities is caused by the educational system on the West Bank. During the first year following the Six Day War it was decided, at a high level, that Israel will do what was done during the Jordanian rule, and that it will finance the whole educational system--from elementary school through junior high school. Military as well as other people protested this generosity. The main argument was that there is no reason to excuse wealthy families from paying tuition to educate their children, and that there certainly is no justification for Israel to finance incidental expenses to the tune of hundreds of millions of pounds for items such as books, notebooks and other educational supplies.

But the arrangement, arrived at 12 years ago, was not touched because of legal and other considerations. Close to half of the civilian budget of the military authorities in the West Bank is set aside for financing the educational system there. If the rate of population increase continues at the present level, it will mean a substantial rise in the budget for developing and maintaining schools in the area.

The health system is in a totally different situation. The military authorities have managed to accomplish quite a bit. About 12 years ago, it inherited hospitals whose professional level and quality of service were pretty low. It gradually introduced many innovations and improvements. The rural areas had no clinics and there were no such things as centers for mother and child. Today, the West Bank is included in the network of medical institutions, according to population needs and the priorities set for health services under the military authorities.

If the military authorities had the last word on priorities of all civilian services they provide, it is most likely that some of the educational budgets would be curtailed in favor of health services. But when the "budgetary skeleton" is set ahead of time, and inflation rates are uncontrollable, only 20 percent of the little that is left after expenditures of the educational system can be allotted to health services.

Thus, about 75 percent of the budget is set aside for education and health services. The remainder is divided among the other services that the military authorities are charged with. The little that is budgeted for each item is hardly enough for what is defined as bare necessities, be it for welfare, agricultural training, support to rural councils, laying of water pipes to remote communities, road paving to out of the way villages, or participation in joint projects of local and military authorities.

In the past, the Arabs on the West Bank were content with whatever they received. Today, mayors and council heads are eager to do more in all areas under their jurisdiction. This is done against the background of the subtle struggle between those Israelis who would like to "establish facts in the area," as fast as possible, and the Arab leaders who would like to place obstacles in the way of supporters of a whole Land of Israel by establishing their own facts in their own communities. The struggle has many facets, but it starts and ends in what is commonly known in Arab circles as "the ability to survive."

Up to about 3 years ago, Israeli authorities and the Arabs themselves still did not know how to cope with Israel's budgetary limitations. Today, all has broken loose. The Israeli authorities are not hiding the fact that they do not have the funds to finance all vital needs on the West Bank, and that they reject any proposals to substantially increase development budets in the area. Arab mayors and other public figures got the message pretty fast, and they have started to take care of their cities' affairs by raising funds.

The Rich Ones

The eagerness to raise funds in the Arab countries, especially in the Persian Gulf emirates, has been met with understanding by rich Arabs, and each Arab leader has made his contribution. This method of holding

separate fund raising campaigns could have continued a long time, except for the initiative of former Jordanian Public Relations Minister 'Adwan Abu-'Uda, who was also in charge of the territories in the Jordanian government. In a meeting he held about 2 years ago with two West Bank mayors, he proposed to establish a joint fund raising office, fashioned after the example of world Jewry. A committee acceptable to all Arab mayors and leaders would set priorities and distribute the funds accordingly.

The proposal seemed impossible at first, but after some months Yassir Arafat made peace with King Hussein. The first tangible result was the establishment of a Jordanian-PLO committee in charge of fund raising for Arabs of east Jerusalem and the West Bank and their distribution according to needs and urgencies.

After a year and a half, the work of the committee has improved and it has managed to gain the support of all those who form public opinion on the West Bank. This could be seen by the acceptance of the committee's authority and the budget it set for each local council for the next 6 months.

A Political Goal

Following are the main items of the budget: IL22.5 million for Nablus; IL12 million for Hebron; IL9.5 million for Ramallah; IL8.5 million each for Tul-Qarm and Jenin; IL7.5 million each for Jericho and Bethlehem, and IL2 million each for the rural councils.

Part of these sums, even if they have only partially materialized, will be enough to carry out development plans which the military authorities cannot carry out or does not consider important enough right now. In most cases, this means basic construction work in the cities, loans for private construction, and help to farmers to farm lands that have been sitting idle for years and are now threatened with takeover or expropriation.

It was easy for the military authorities to cope with the financial aid from the Arab countries. But in addition to the financial aid coming through the Arab Bank in Amman, there is also direct and indirect aid from the United States, west European countries and Scandinavia. In the past, this aid was mostly of a welfare nature and was very limited in scope. It has now transcended more help to individuals. In real terms, it means establishing a new market in Khakkhul or building a new campus for the Bir Zeit University. The obvious conclusion is that this aid is intended to achieve a definite political goal: less dependence on the Israeli military authorities.

If this were only the conclusion of Arab leaders, it would not be so bad. But even Israelis on the scene are convinced that there is a method to the varied aid from the outside and that its goal is not to embarrass the military authorities who have no money, but to prepare the groundwork for self-rule, when it becomes a reality.

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MEASURES TO INSURE AIR TRAFFIC SAFETY URGED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 20 Mar 80 p 19

[Article: "Civilian Pilots Are Worried About Safety Procedures and The Inadequacy of Takeoff and Landing Strips"]

[Text] There is no experience more harrowing for a 747 pilot than a takeoff from Ben-Gurion Airport when from his back, precariously close to the tail of the jumbo jet, an Air Force Skyhawk is passing by. It happened.

It also happened when the pilot of an Arki'a plane had a hair-raising experience. While cruising to Eilat, he suddenly found himself between two Air Force Phantom jets.

When El-Al or other airline pilots take off from runway 26, they are asked to turn left immediately after takeoff, because down below there is a school and the noise is deafening. This maneuver does not make takeoff any easier. Up to recently, pilots used to turn left immediately after takeoff in order not to deafen the Gush-Dan population. But then, over Bat-Yam, they flew over an IDF shooting range where high altitude shells were being fired. The author refrains from speculating what would have happened if the phone from Lod to the shooting range did not work and a little shell had hit a fully fueled plane with 400 passengers on board. This difficulty was eliminated, thanks heaven.

Going To Eilat

One could also speculate what will happen when the IDF moves to the Negev with three large airfields. The Air Force will be flying hundreds of planes and Arki'a planes will have to "wiggle" among them on their way to Eilat. And what about light planes, private planes and those needed for agriculture?

Ben-Gurion is classified as a "red" airport in the pages of the International Air Pilots Association (IAPA) publications. This is next to the last rung before "black." The association advises its members not to land in "black" airports. The last report of IAPA says: "Approach lights

and runway lights cannot be seen very well from runway 26. Other signs are confusing." During the recent storm nights a month ago, El-Al pilots had difficulties landing at Ben-Gurion airport. They loaded up with extra fuel so they could land in Rhodes.

In a memorandum of the Israeli Air Pilots Association dated 12 February, it is mentioned that landings and takeoffs take place in the same air corridor without adequate separation, that civilian routes and military traffick overlap, and that "because of insufficient supervision, military flights invade the air space over the airport in a surprising and dangerous fashion."

Civilians on The Ground

The Air Pilots Association committee appeared before the Knesset economic committee for the second time on 19 March to protest the safety aspects of aviation in the country, which, according to them, is serious. Leaders of the association direct their criticism at the three organizations which handle aviation. Cooperation among them is far from satisfactory to the pilots. The three are the airport authority, the civial aviation administration and the Air Force.

The airport authority is in charge of carrying out the project which may improve the situation at Ben-Gurion airport: lengthening of runway 03-21 (the north-south runway) by half a km on each end, so it can become the primary landing strip. Thus, runway 26 (the "quiet" runway) will serve for takeoffs only. Separation of takeoffs and landings will improve safety. But Mazor and kibbutz Be'erot-Yitzhaq are just north of runway 03-21. Measurements have shown that when passenger planes land there, the noise factor is intolerable. The problem of these settlements has not been solved, neither has a solution come up as to relocating them.

Radar Prone to Malfunction

Pilots are also demanding that the airport authority solve the radar problem once and for all. The radar system which was installed in the airport a few years ago is a naval system which is not suited for air traffick. Pilots ignore it.

Differences with the Air Force relate mainly to the expected air route to Eilat. The Air Force proposed a route which will bring Arki'a planes westward to the Mediterranean, and then, along a southeastern route, over the Israeli-Egyptian international border, to Eilat. But pilots and national airlines oppose this because the route lengthens the flight and consumes more fuel. They propose an eastern route over the Dead Sea, along the Jordanian border. The Air Force claims that this is a dangerous route. In the middle of February, it was decided to appoint a joint committee to examine air routes. The Air Pilots' Association still claims that the Air Force treats the country's airspace as if it were its own, and that it has no respect for civil aviation.

Aviation experts complain about duplicity in the work of the civil aviation administration and the airport authority. Division of labor is not always clearly delineated, neither are responsibilities. Each of these organizations, as well as the Ben-Gurion airport administration, has branches of administration and implementation with offices manned by experts on aviation safety and investigators of plane accidents. According to all experts, the ministry of transportation and the government of Israel have to reorganize all aviation authorities and gather all professional personnel under one roof for exactly one goal, namely that any pilot taking off, with a 747 or a single engine craft, can have the assurance of reaching his destination and landing safely with his passengers, baggage, plane and himself.

Israeli pilots say that flight safety is not anything that can be argued about. It is preventive action which should be undertaken so that no accident will happen. "We would be right after the first large fatal accident," they warn. "Aviation in Israel is expanding, the number of planes is growing. Our airspace is a fixed entity, although it is about to shrink in the south. Things are getting more crowded, and confusion on the ground may cause an accident in the air."

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CSO: 4805

PUBLIC OPINION ON CONSTITUTION SURVEYED

Unicameral Parliamentary Structure

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 21 Feb 80 p 8

[Text of AL-QABAS Survey Questionnaire Appears at End of These Related Articles]

[Text] AL-QABAS has received hundreds of letters from readers in response to the questionnaire concerning revision of the constitution which has been published on a daily basis. Today we begin publishing the responses of some of the readers, with the rest of the responses to be presented subsequently.

It was noted that up to this point, most opinions agree that parliament should consist of one house there is unanimous agreement that all members should be elected. In addition, most readers agree that a literacy condition should be imposed on the voter, and that the candidate should be required to possess academic qualification.

A majority of opinions stated that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum, and a few of the opinions stated that it should be submitted before the next parliamentary session. Many of the male readers were in agreement that neither the right to vote nor the right to run for office should be granted to women. Naturally, the women themselves felt otherwise.

However, one opinion stood out from the rest. Its holder suggested that the number of members of parliament be increased to 70, so that each election district would have two members to represent women in addition to its five male representatives.

Opinions varied as to whether the voting age should be set at 18 or 21, the number of elected members parliament should have, and whether the minimum period of citizenship required to vote should be 10 or 20 years. Some of these responses follow. We will continue to publish other responses in succeeding articles.

Two Female Members

--Dr Khalid Sa'ud al-Hassawi; director of the Technical Office of the undersecretary of health; 32 years of age.

Dr al-Hassawi believes that parliament should be unicameral with all members elected. He feels that parliament should have 70 members, i.e., an additional two members per district to represent the female constituency.

Concerning the election law, he thinks that the minimum voting age should be 18, without a literacy requirement, and that the minimum period of citizenship should be 10 years.

As for the candidates, Dr al-Hassawi feels that academic qualification should be required, and is in favor of granting women the right to vote and the right to run for office. He is also in favor of increasing the number of election districts, reapportioning the districts, and verifying the voter rolls. Concerning the number of elected representatives for each district, he feels that there should be seven members: five of them men and two of them women. He is of the opinion that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to the next parliament.

One Vote for the Ministers

--Muhammad Ibrahim al-Najjar; captain in the Port of al-Shu'aybah; 27 years of age.

This reader feels that parliament should be unicameral and entirely elected, and that ministers should be members of parliament, but should not have the right to vote. On this point, he says: "All ministers together must have only one vote, because they represent one side, the government." In another remark concerning the number of members in parliament, he says: "This must correspond to the number of districts and their population densities."

Concerning the election law, this reader feels that the voting age should not be lower than 21, and that there should not be a literacy requirement. He is in favor of requiring a period of 20 years of citizenship as a condition for voting.

He strong supports--as he indicates by inserting two exclamation points--making academic qualification a requirement for candidates. He does not support granting women the right to vote or run for office. He is in favor of increasing the number of election districts and reapportioning the districts. He feels that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum.

Voting Age of 21

--Faysal Ya'qub Musa; chemist with Kuwait Oil Company; 23 years old.

Mr Musa feels that parliament should be unicameral and elected, that ministers should be members of parliament with the right to vote, and that parliament should consist of 50 members.

Concerning the election law, he feels that the voting age should be 21 and that a literacy requirement should be stipulated. He does not agree that there should be a requirement of 20 years of citizenship as a condition for voting.

Concerning the candidates, he feels that academic qualification should be required. He is in favor of granting women the right to vote and run for office, increasing the number of election districts and verifying the voter rolls. He feels that there should be from three to five elected members from each district.

This reader is of the opinion that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum as well as to the next parliament.

Seventy-Five Members

--Turki al-Hajilan, a 33-year-old civil servant, feels that parliament should be unicameral. He agrees that ministers should be members of parliament, but thinks they should not have the right to vote. He feels that parliament should consist of 75 members.

Concerning the election law, he feels that the voting age should be 21, that voters should not be required to meet a literacy condition, and that a 20-year period of citizenship should not be stipulated.

Concerning the candidates, he does not feel that academic qualification should be a requirement. He is in favor of granting women the right to vote and run for office. He believes that the number of districts should be increased, that the districts should be reapportioned, and that election registers should be verified.

No Right for Women

--'Aziz Wadi Salbukh al-Husayni; civil servant in the Civil Servants Administration; 23 years old.

Al-Husayni has no objections to either a unicameral or a bicameral parliament. In the first case, he feels that the entire parliament should be appointed. In the second case, he feels that one of the houses should be appointed and the other elected. He agrees that ministers should be members of parliament, but feels they should not have the right to vote.

Citizen al-Husayni refrained from giving his opinion with regard to the number of members of the house or houses. He feels that the voting age should not be less than 21, that voters should be required to be literate, and that a naturalized citizen should be required to have been a citizen for a minimum of 10 years in order to vote.

Concerning the candidates, he feels that academic qualification should not be a requirement. He does not agree that women should be given the right to vote or the right to run for office, nor does he feel that the number of election districts should be increased beyond the present 10. He feels that there should be five elected representatives from each district.

He is of the opinion that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum and should not be submitted to the next parliament.

No Vote for the Ministers

--Najat Ahmad Muhammad, a 21-year-old teacher, proposes that parliament be unicameral and that all its members be elected. She feels that the ministers should also be members of parliament, but should not have the right to vote. She thinks that parliament should have from 50 to 70 members. Najat feels that the voting age should be 18, that literacy should not be a necessary condition, and that a 20-year period of citizenship should not be a necessary condition in order to vote.

Concerning the candidates, Citizen Najat is of the opinion that academic qualification should not be a requirement, and feels that women should be granted both the right to vote and the right to run for office. She is in favor of increasing the number of election districts beyond the present 10, reapportioning the districts, and verifying the voter rolls. She feels that the number of elected representatives from each district should not exceed 10. In addition, she believes that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum as well to the next parliament.

Fifty Members Only

--Zubayday Abal Hasan, a 23-year-old student, feels that parliament should be unicameral with appointed members, and that ministers should be members of the parliament but should not have the right to vote. She thinks that parliament should have only about 50 members.

Concerning the election law, she feels that the voting age should be 21 and that the voter should be required to meet the conditions of literacy and a 10-year period as a citizen.

With regard to the candidates, she feels that they should be required to have obtained academic qualification. She believes that women should be

granted the right to vote, only. Zubaydah is not in favor of increasing the number of election districts or reapportioning the districts, but she does favor verifying the voter rolls. She feels that there should be only five elected members from each district.

Citizen Zubaydah believes that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum.

Bicameral Parliamentary Structure

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 22 Feb 80 p 4

In today's installment, many readers express their views as to whether parliament should be unicameral or bicameral. They indicate that they are not opposed to the existence of two houses as long as all the members of the two houses are elected.

However, there is a difference of opinion regarding whether the voting age should be 18 or 21, as well as whether or not there should be a literacy requirement. Most readers feel that ministers should be members of parliament but should not have the right to vote.

A majority of the readers are of the opinion that it would be better for candidates to possess academic qualification, and feel that the number of election districts and the number of elected members should both be increased so as to make contact between the citizens and their representatives easier.

Most views support submitting the constitution revision plan to a referendum.

--Jasim Yusuf al-Hamidin; retired major; 46 years old.

This reader supports a unicameral parliament consisting entirely of elected members. He feels that ministers should be members of the parliament but should not have the right to vote, and thinks that parliament should have a total of 100 members, one of them being the president.

Concerning the voters, this reader believes that the voting age should be 21 and is in favor of a literacy requirement and stipulation of a minimum citizenship period of 10 years.

However, he does not agree with the stipulation of academic qualification for candidates. At the same time, he does favor granting women the right to vote and run for office.

He is in favor of increasing the number of election districts, reapportioning the districts and verifying the voter rolls. He suggests that there should be 10 elected representatives from each district and that this number should be allowed to increase with the passage of time.

He is of the opinion that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum and not to the next parliament.

Consultative Council

--Jasim Muhammad Dashti; programming and documentation supervisor for the Kuwait Oil Company; 26 years old.

Mr Dashti feels that parliament should be unicameral and entirely elected, that the ministers should be members of the parliament but without the right to vote and that parliament should consist of 50 members. He suggests changing the name to Consultative Council.

Concerning the voters, he feels that the voting age should be 18, that there should not be a literacy requirement, and that a minimum 20-year period of citizenship should not be required.

With regard to the candidates, he feels that academic qualification should be a requirement and that women should be given the right to vote but not the right to run for office. He does not see the need for increasing the number of election districts, but he does favor reapportionment of the districts and verification of the voter rolls. He feels that there should be five elected representatives from each district. This reader is of the opinion that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum and not to the parliament.

One Hundred Members of Parliament

--Mushari Sabih Barak al-Sabih; administrative affairs supervisor; 40 years old.

This reader proposes that parliament should consist of one house whose members are elected, and that ministers should be members of the parliament but without the right to vote. He suggests that parliament be made up of 100 members--"one member for every 5,000 citizens so that there can be contact between the members and the citizens."

Concerning the election law, Mr al-Sabih feels that the voting age should be 21 and he is in favor of a literacy requirement. He is against stipulation of a minimum 10-year period of citizenship, but supports a condition requiring candidates to possess academic qualification.

This reader supports granting women the right to vote but is against granting them the right to run for office. He favors an increase in the number of election districts, reapportionment of the districts and verification of the voter rolls.

He suggests that there be five representatives from each district with a total of 20 districts. He also feels that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum.

Sixty Members

--Yusuf Ahmad Sulayman al-Hassawi; maintenance official for the capital governorate; 53 years old.

Mr al-Hassawi feels that parliament should be unicameral and consist of an entirely elected membership of 60 representatives.

Concerning the election law, he feels that the minimum voting age should be 21 and is in favor of a literacy requirement and stipulation of a minimum citizenship period of 20 years.

He is in favor of requiring academic qualification for candidates, and feels that women should be granted the right to vote but not the right to run for office. He thinks that the number of election districts should be increased to 12, that the districts should be reapportioned, and that the voter rolls should be verified. He feels that there should be five elected members from each district.

Mr al-Hassawi is of the opinion that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum without being submitted to the next parliament.

Qualification of Candidates

--Salih Husayn al-Haddad; civil servant; 40 years old.

This reader thinks that parliament should be unicameral and elected, and that ministers should be included as members but should not have the right to vote. He feels that the voting age should be 18 rather than 21 with no literacy requirement. He refrains from expressing an opinion with regard to the requirement of a minimum citizenship period of 20 years.

Concerning the candidates, he asserts that they should be required to possess academic qualification. He is in favor of granting women the right to vote but not the right to run for office. He does not feel it is necessary to increase the number of election districts or reapportion them, but he declined to give an opinion on the matter of verifying the voter rolls. He feels that there should be only five elected representatives from each district.

He supports submitted the draft constitution to the next parliament and is against submitted it to a referendum.

Two Houses

--Salim Muhammad Sayf; civil servant; 32 years old.

This reader has no objections to either a unicameral parliament or a bicameral parliament, but feels that there should be a total of 150 members, all of them elected. He thinks that ministers should be members of parliament but should not have the right to vote.

Concerning the election law, he feels that the voting age should not be under 21 and that the voter should be required to be literate. He does not agree to a stipulation requiring a minimum 20-year period of citizenship.

With regard to candidacy, he feels it is unnecessary to make academic qualification a requirement for candidates. He does not approve of granting women either the right to vote or the right to run for office. Concerning the election districts, he feels that their number should be increased, that they should be reapportioned, and that the voter rolls should be verified.

This reader is of the opinion that there should be 15 elected members from each district, and believes that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum.

Ten Years Is Enough

--Sa'ud Mulfi al-'Utaybi; civil servant; 45 years old.

This reader feels that parliament should be unicameral and elected with a total of 75 members, consisting of five members per district.

He also feels that the voting age should be 21. He is in favor of stipulating a 10-year period of citizenship as a requirement for voters, but does not favor a literacy requirement. Nor does he feel that academic qualification should be a requirement for candidates.

With regard to women, he is in favor of granting them the right to vote but is against granting them the right to run for office. He feels that the number of election districts should be increased to 15, and approves of submitting the constitution revision plan to a referendum.

According to Population Density

--Ahmad Mahmud Sayyah; secretary; 28 years old.

Mr Sayyah feels that all members of parliament should be elected whether the parliament is unicameral or bicameral. He does not feel that it is necessary for the ministers to be members of parliament. He thinks there should be a total of 99 members in the two houses in addition to the president.

In his opinion, the voting age should be 21. He is in favor of a literacy requirement, but does not support stipulation of a 20-year period of citizenship as a voting requirement. Nor does he support imposing a requirement of academic qualification on candidates. He is in favor of granting women only the right to vote, not the right to hold office.

Mr Sayyah thinks that the number of election districts should be increased, but does not feel that the districts should be reapportioned or that the voter rolls should be verified. He feels that the number of elected representatives per district should be based on the population density of each area. He supports submitting the constitution revision plan to a referendum.

General Secondary Education

--Sa'ud Sahud al-Mutayyiri; student; 19 years old.

This reader feels that parliament should be bicameral and elected, and that ministers should be members but without the right to vote. He thinks that the parliament should have 160 members. He is in favor of a voting age of 21, with a stipulation that voters must have completed at least the general secondary level of education. He is not in favor of a condition requiring a 20-year period of citizenship.

With regard to the candidates, Sa'ud feels that every candidate should be required to hold university-level academic qualification. He is in favor of granting women the right to vote, but against granting them the right to run for office.

He favors increasing the number of election districts, reapportioning the districts, and verifying the voter rolls.

Sa'ud suggests that there should be 8 elected representatives from each district, and he feels that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum but not to the next parliament.

Unicameral or Bicameral

--Karim Da'in al-Hazza'; student; 19 years old.

Karim feels that members of parliament should be elected regardless of whether the parliament is unicameral or bicameral. He believes that the voting age should be 18, without a literacy requirement. He did not express an opinion about the stipulation of a 20-year period of citizenship.

He asserts the necessity of stipulating an academic qualification requirement for all candidates. He is opposed to granting women the right to vote or run for office. He feels that the number of election districts should be increased beyond the present 10, but is against reapportionment of the districts.

He suggests that there should be 10 elected representatives from each district, and that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum and not to the next parliament.

Two Houses, One Monitoring the Other

--Sa'ud Sahud al-Mutayyiri, a 19-year-old general secondary student whose response appeared above.

Sa'ud included a comment on his survey form concerning whether one should be content with one parliamentary house or two houses. He says that it would be preferable to have a parliament made up of two houses, the first of which would do the work and the second of which would scrutinize and monitor the work of the first.

Sa'ud says: "When the number of deliberators is large, the number of mistakes is small."

Two Questions With a Response

--'Abdallah 'Ali 'Abd-al-Mun'im; civil servant; 30 years old.

Mr 'Abd-al-Mun'im sent us the survey form, but instead of answering the questions on the form, he posed--on the form itself--two questions of his own. The first question concerned the purpose of publishing this survey. The second question asked whether it would not be preferable to have all observations included in the constitution revision plan [debated in] parliament prior to their approval and the amendment of the constitution.

As to our purpose in publishing this survey, it is a service by al-QABAS as a forum of public opinion which is obligated to perform its role in the area of public service. Therefore, our goal os to delineate some of the indicators of the directions of public opinion on the detailed aspects of the parliamentary life which will soon come into existence--indicators which the committee can take into account in the process of revising the constitution.

As for the second question, the committee's task is merely to draft the constitution revision plan. The approval or disapproval of the plan will occur by one of two means: either it will be submitted to a popular referendum so that the citizens can express their views, or it will be submitted to the elected assembly for approval.

Both means are methods of democracy in use throughout the world.

Voting Rights

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 23 Feb 80 p 10

In this installment, the opinions of the citizens differ as to whether parliament should be unicameral or bicameral and whether it should be made up entirely of elected members or both elected and appointed members. However, nearly all of the opinions support making the ministers non-voting members of parliament.

Opinions also differ with regard to the number of elected members from each district, the proper voting age (18 or 21), the stipulation of a literacy requirement for voters, the stipulation of an academic qualification requirement for candidates, and the election districts.

However, the great majority of opinions favor granting women the right to vote, although not the right to run for office, and support submitting the constitution revision plan to a referendum.

Qualification for Candidates

--Ahmad 'Abdallah al-'Ali; administrative supervisor; 33 years old.

This reader proposes that parliament be unicameral including both elected and appointed members. He agrees that ministers should be members of parliament with the right to vote.

He feels that parliament should consist of 100 members so that "all the new areas and any new members of the population can be represented," as he says in his comment.

Mr al-'Ali suggests that the voting age be 21, and proposes that a literacy requirement and a minimum period of 10 years of citizenship be stipulated.

He also feels that there should be an academic qualification requirement for candidates. He is in favor of granting women the right to vote, but has reservations when it comes to granting them the right to run for office.

He supports an increase in the number of districts, reapportionment of the districts, and verification of the voter rolls.

Mr al-'Ali feels that there should be five elected members from each district, and believes the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum.

Fifty Members Only

--'Adil Ahmad Bahbahani; engineer; 26 years old.

This reader supports a unicameral parliament consisting entirely of elected members. He also supports making the ministers members of parliament without the right to vote. He feels that parliament should be comprised of 50 members, or "one member for every 10,000 citizens, which is a reasonable ratio," as he comments.

Mr Bahbahani feels that the proper voting age is 18, without a literacy condition or requirement of a 10-year period of citizenship. However, he does favor requiring academic qualification for candidates.

He supports granting women the right to vote but not the right to run for office. He also favors reapportionment of the election districts, although he declined to express an opinion with regard to an increase in the number of districts or verification of the voter rolls. He also did not give an opinion or response regarding the suggested number of representatives from each district. He feels that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to the next parliament.

No to Women

--Ahmad al-Dusari; engineer; 25 years old.

This reader favors a unicameral parliament in which the ministers are members but do not have the right to vote. He feels that there should be 120 members in the house "which should be divided into a number of committees each of which would follow a particular area of specialization on a permanent basis," as he comments.

He feels that the proper voting age is 21 and that a literacy requirement should be imposed on the voter. He also favors making academic qualification a prerequisite for candidates. He declined to give an opinion on the question of requiring naturalized citizens to have held citizenship for at least 20 years in order to be eligible to vote.

Mr al-Dusari does not agree that women should be granted either the right to vote or the right to run for office. He feels that the number of election districts needs to be increased, that the districts need to be reapportioned, and that the voter rolls should be verified.

He also believes that there should be 12 elected representatives from each district and that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to the next parliament.

75 Members

--Hammud Muhsin al-'Anzi; lawyer; 29 years old.

This reader prefers that the parliament be unicameral rather than bicameral and that it be entirely elected. He feels the ministers should be members of parliament but should not have the right to vote. He believes that the parliament should have 75 members in view of the increase in population and the expansion of the areas, as he says.

Concerning the election law, he thinks the voting age should be 21 without either a literacy requirement or a mandatory period of 20 years of citizenship.

He does, however, support an academic qualification requirement for candidates. He opposes granting women either the right to vote or the right to run for office. He is in favor of increasing the number of election districts, reapportioning the districts, and verifying the voter rolls.

Mr al-'Anzi thinks there should be five elected representatives for each district, and he favors submitting the constitution revision plan to the next parliament rather than holding a referendum on it.

Eighteen Years Old To Vote

--'Isa Isma'il Hasan Yusuf al-Mulla; accountant; 25 years old.

Mr al-Mulla proposes that parliament be elected regardless of whether it is unicameral or bicameral. He feels ministers should be members of parliament but should not have the right to vote. He thinks that there should be 60 representatives so that all the districts can be covered and so that it will not be necessary to hold elections in case the validity of any representative's membership is challenged, as he says.

Concerning the election law, he feels that the proper voting age is 18. He is in favor of a literacy requirement but against requiring a minimum 20-year period of citizenship.

Mr al-Mulla believes there needs to be an academic qualification prerequisite for candidates and feels that women should be granted the right to vote but not the right to run for office.

He is in favor of an increase in the number of election districts and reapportionment of the districts, but he declined to give an opinion on the voter rolls.

Mr al-Mulla proposes that there be five elected members from each district. He believes the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum rather than to the next parliament.

No Membership for the Ministers

--Rashid 'Ali Husayn Bujarrah; shift supervisor with Kuwaiti Airlines; 27 years old.

This reader feels that all members of parliament should be elected whether there is one house or two houses. He is not in favor of making ministers members of parliament. He believes the parliament should consist of 84 members "so that a broader range of views can be expressed and any proposed issue can be debated from all sides," as he puts it.

Concerning the election law, he feels that the voting age should be 21 with a literacy requirement, but that a 20-year minimum period of citizenship should not be required.

However, he is in favor of requiring candidates to possess academic qualification. He also supports granting women the right to vote, but does not favor granting them the right to run for office. He is in favor of increasing the number of election districts, reapportioning the districts and verifying the election rolls.

He proposes that there should be seven elected representatives from each district, and that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a popular referendum as well as to the next parliament.

Right to Vote for Ministers

--Ahmad Taha al-Ansari; student at Kuwait University; 23 years old.

This reader proposes that parliament should be elected, that ministers should be included as members with the right to vote, and that there should be a total of 50 representatives.

He feels that the proper voting age is 21, and he favors both a literacy requirement and a mandatory period of at least 10 years of citizenship.

Concerning the candidates, he feels there needs to be an academic qualification requirement. He favors granting women the right to vote, but not the right to run for office.

Although he does not support an increase in the number of election districts, he does feel that the districts should be reapportioned. He suggests that there be only five elected representatives from each district.

He is in favor of submitting the constitution revision plan to a referendum.

Right to Vote, Not Run for Office

--Dayfallah al-Mutayyiri; civil servant; 50 years old.

This reader feels that parliament should include both elected and appointed members whether it consists of one house or two houses, and that ministers should be members of parliament without the right to vote.

He thinks that the voting age should be 18. He does not favor a literacy requirement, but he does support stipulation of a 20-year period of citizenship as a voting requirement. He also feels that there should be an academic qualification requirement for candidates.

With regard to women, he feels they should receive the right to vote but not the right to run for office. He is in favor of an increase in the number of election districts, reapportionment of the districts and verification of the voter rolls.

He believes there should be 10 representatives for each district including both elected and appointed members, and he favors submitting the constitution revision plan to a referendum.

Nine Representatives per District

--Mut'ib Makhayman al-Kharinj; civil servant; 38 years old.

This reader feels that parliament should be elected whether it consists of one house or two houses, and that ministers should be included as members but should not have the right to vote.

He believes parliament should consist of 90 members. As for the voters, he feels that the proper voting age is 18, is in favor of a literacy requirement, and is opposed to stipulation of a 20-year period of citizenship. He is also opposed to an academic qualification requirement for candidates.

With regard to women, he is in favor of granting them the right to vote but not the right to run for office. He also supports an increase in the number of election districts, reapportionment of the districts, and verification of the voter rolls.

He proposes that there be nine representatives from each district.

Election and Appointment

--Fahd Muhammad al-Huwaydi al-'Anzi; Kuwaiti Army; 22 years old.

This reader proposes a unicameral parliament consisting of both elected and appointed members. He suggests that the ministers be members of

parliament but that they not possess the right to vote. He feels the parliament should consist of 100 members.

Concerning the election law, he feels that the voting age should be 18. He does not support either a literacy requirement or a minimum 10-year period of citizenship, but he does agree that academic qualification should be a requirement for candidates.

He does not favor an increase in the number of election districts, but he does think that the districts should be reapportioned. He declined to give his opinion on verification of the voter rolls.

Fahd proposes that there be 10 elected representatives from each district, and he feels that the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum as well as being submitted before the next parliament.

Unicameral or Bicameral

--Muhammad 'Uwayd al-'Anzi; Teachers Institute student; 22 years old.

This reader has no objections to parliament being either unicameral or bicameral. In the first case, he favors an entirely elected parliament in which the ministers are included as members but do not have the right to vote. In the second case, he feels that each house should be made up of both elected and appointed members, and that the total number of members should be the same in each house. As he states in a comment, this would make the adoption of important decisions easier, allowing the president to tip the scale one way or the other.

Concerning the election law, he feels that the voting age should be 21, and he does not support the stipulation of a 20-year period of citizenship as a voting requirement.

With regard to the candidates, he favors an academic qualification requirement and supports granting women the right to vote. However, he does not favor granting women the right to run for office.

He feels that the number of election districts should be increased and that the districts should be reapportioned, but he declined to give an opinion on verification of the voter rolls. He proposes that each area should have its own election district.

He supports submitting the constitution revision plan to a referendum rather than to the next parliament.

Right of Women to Vote, Run for Office

--May 'Abd-al-Rahman Ibrahim; industrial en[illegible] 4 years old.

Miss Ibrahim feels that parliament should be unicameral and that all its members should be elected. She does not feel that ministers should be members of parliament. She proposes that there be two members to represent each district because "two elected representatives for each area are enough to cover it for all issues which are put forward," in her words.

In her opinion, the voting age should be 21 and there should be a literacy requirement. She is not in favor of requiring a minimum of 20 years of citizenship in order to vote.

She does not feel that candidates should be required to possess academic qualification.

With regard to women, she is naturally in favor of granting them both the right to vote and the right to run for office.

She advocates submitting the constitution revision plan to a referendum.

Right to Run Only? How?

Fahd Muhammad Fahd al-Huwaydi al-'Anzi, whose response to the survey questionnaire was published above, declined to give an opinion with regard to granting women the right to vote, but at the same time he stated that he is in favor of granting women the right to run for office.

How could a woman possibly be a candidate--and this is a right which she has not yet obtained--while she does not in the first place possess the right to vote and choose her candidates?

We believe that the reader must have been confused by this matter and thus his response was inaccurate on this point.

Other Views

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 24 Feb 80 p 9

In today's installment, opinions differ on many points. Some readers feel that parliament should be unicameral while others feel that it needs to be bicameral. Most of the readers do agree, however, that the members of the house or houses should be chosen by election. A majority of the readers also feel that the ministers should be non-voting members of parliament.

There was also a difference of opinions with regard to the voting age, the issues related to the candidates and to women, and the questions concerning the election districts.

The same disparity of views was noted with regard to the questions involving the election districts and the number of representatives from each district, as well as the question of whether the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum or to the next parliament.

There were a number of distinctive views among the readers. For example, one reader suggests that a woman's right to vote should be conditional on possession of a secondary school diploma and that her right to run for office should be conditional on possession of a university diploma.

Another reader proposes that the parliament consist of two houses, one of which would be a house of representatives and the other a senate, but both of which would be elected bodies.

--'Abd-al-'Aziz Fahd al-'Atiqi; employment officer with the National Oil Company; 30 years old.

This reader feels that the parliament should be comprised of both elected and appointed members whether it is unicameral or bicameral. He believes the ministers should be included as non-voting members.

He is of the opinion that the proper voting age is 21 and feels that there should be a literacy requirement and a mandatory citizenship period of 15 years rather than 20 years.

He believes that candidates should be required to possess academic qualification at not lower than the secondary level.

Mr al-'Atiqi favors an increase in the number of election districts, reapportionment of the districts, and verification of the voter rolls.

He does not feel it is necessary to submit the constitution revision plan to a referendum, but favors submitting it to the next parliament.

Yes to Educated Women Only

'Abd-al-'Aziz Fahd al-'Atiqi, whose response appears [immediately above], included several comments on his survey form.

He suggests that women should have both the right to vote and the right to run for office and that each district should be represented by two men and one woman. However, he feels that the woman representative should have to be between the ages of 30 and 40 and that women in general should be required to hold at least a general secondary diploma in order to vote and at least a university diploma in order to run for office.

Seventy-five Members

--Muhammad 'Ali al-'Ajmi; businessman; 43 years old.

In this reader's opinion, members of parliament should be elected whether the parliament is unicameral or bicameral. He thinks there should be 75 members so that, as he says, "those who possess qualifications will be able to reach the parliament."

Concerning the voters, he feels that the voting age should be 21 and that there should be a literacy requirement as well as a mandatory period of 10 years as a citizen in order to vote. He also feels that academic qualification should be required for candidates.

He believes that women should also be given the right to run for office. He is in favor of an increase in the number of election districts, reapportionment of the districts, and verification of the voter rolls. He does not support submitting the constitution revision plan to a referendum but thinks that it should be submitted before the next parliament.

Two Houses

--Rabi' Muhammad Rabi'; employee of Kuwaiti Airlines; 19 years old.

This reader feels that parliament should consist of two houses with elected members and that ministers should be included as non-voting members. He suggests that the first house have 30 members and the second 20 members " to ensure that the best solutions and decisions will be reached."

Concerning the election law, he feels that the voting age should be 18 without either a literacy requirement or a mandatory 20-year period of citizenship.

He does, however, favor granting women the right to vote, but not the right to run for office. He does not feel it is necessary to increase the number of election districts or reapportion the districts, but he does endorse verification of the voter rolls. He suggests that there be five representatives from each district.

Rabi' is in favor of submitting the constitution revision plan to a referendum as well as submitting it to the next parliament.

Qualification for Candidates

--Badr 'Ali al-Khamis; civil servant; 31 years old.

This reader asserts that parliament should be unicameral and that the ministers should be included as non-voting members.

While Badr did not respond to the question pertaining to the number of members the parliament should have, he indicated that the voting age should be 21 and that there should be a literacy requirement but not a mandatory 20-year period of citizenship. He favors an academic qualification requirement for candidates and is against granting women either the right to vote or the right to run for office.

He does not see a need to increase the number of election districts. While he did not express an opinion on reapportionment of the districts, he does support verification of the voter rolls.

In Badr's opinion, there should be five elected representatives from each district and the constitution revision plan should be submitted to a referendum.

The Important Thing Is Quality

--'Abd-al-Muhsin Muhammad al-Musawi; university student; 24 years old.

This reader proposes that parliament consist of one house with an elected membership. He declined to express an opinion with regard to the membership of the ministers and their right to vote in the parliament.

With regard to the number of members the parliament should have, he feels that "the important thing is quality, not quantity."

'Abd-al-Muhsin is of the opinion that the voting age should be 18. He supports an academic qualification requirement for candidates and is in favor of granting women the right to vote, though not the right to run for office.

He did not give an opinion with regard to an increase in the number of election districts, reapportionment of the districts, or verification of the voter rolls. He is in favor of submitting the constitution revision plan to a referendum rather than to the next parliament.

AL-QABAS Survey on Revision of the Constitution

The Parliament

--Unicameral:	Yes	No	No Opinion
Entirely elected	___	___	___
Entirely appointed	___	___	___
Both elected and appointed	___	___	___
Ministers voting members	___	___	___
Ministers non-voting members	___	___	___
--Bicameral:			
One house elected and one appointed	___	___	___
Both houses elected	___	___	___
Each house both elected and appointed	___	___	___

How many members do you think there should be in the house (or houses)? Why?

.....

The Election Law

--The Voters:			
Voting age of 21	___	___	___
Voting age of 18	___	___	___
Literacy requirement	___	___	___
Mandatory period of 20 years since acquisition of citizenship	___	___	___
--The Candidates:			
Requirement of academic qualification	___	___	___
--Women			
Should be granted right to vote	___	___	___
Should be granted right to run for office	___	___	___

AL-QABAS Survey on Revision of the Constitution (continued)

--Election Districts (there are presently 10):	Yes	No	No Opinion
Increase in number of districts	___	___	___
Reapportionment of districts	___	___	___
Verification of voter rolls	___	___	___

How many elected representatives do you suggest for each district?

.....

Constitution Revision Plan

Should be submitted to referendum	___	___	___
Should be submitted to next National Assembly	___	___	___

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LEBANESE PHALANGIST LEADER: ARAB WORLD SHOULD LEAVE LEBANON ALONE

LD251133 Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 21-27 Apr 80 pp 12-15

[Interview with Lebanese Phalangist Party leader Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil by Rafiq Shalala--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Can we say that the Phalangist Party will open a new page in its relations with Damascus?

[Answer] Why call it a new phase or a new page? We are still as we were. We did not want the war with Syria, but it was imposed on us and we were forced to enter into it. Despite all that has happened and the destruction that has been caused to our areas by the Syrian forces both morally and materially, I ask you: Have we ever vilified or insulted the Syrians? We tried to make the Syrians understand that such actions are not in the interest of Lebanon, Syria, the Palestinians or the Arabs but are in the interest of Israel, which would have achieved the same results had it aimed at this deliberately.

[Question] But Damascus has accused the Phalangists of cooperating with Israel and of coordinating with the "Muslim brotherhood" to foment disturbances in Syria. How do you reconcile these accusations with the renewal of relations [between the Phalangists and Syria]?

[Answer] Among other things, I blame the Arabs, particularly the riffraff, for the accusations which are very easy to make. I ask: Which Arab leader has not been accused of being an agent, a reactionary and a plotter? The strange thing is that the Arabs are accusing each other of cooperating with Israel, while no Israeli has ever accused his compatriot of cooperating with the Arabs. Such a mentality is indicative of psychological decline and retarded thinking. This is reaction itself. I observe that those who are accusing others of cooperating with the enemy are themselves actually cooperating with him either consciously or unconsciously, because there are two kinds of cooperation: Complicity at some times and the use of agents at other times. I give as an example the Palestinian presence in the south. For 4 years I have been asking what is the usefulness of the Palestinian

presence in the south? I would understand if this presence were part of a strategic and political plan. But we find that the scattered, armed and undisciplined Palestinian presence is very harmful to Lebanon because it has hit south Lebanon. It is also harmful to the Arabs because it is dragging them into a battle for which they are not prepared. Israel is imposing on the Arabs the place and time of the battle. For 4 years I have been asking the Arab states to investigate the reasons for what is happening in Lebanon. I would not be surprised if Israel were trying to keep the situation in the south tense because its interests dictate that. If it wanted, Israel could end the situation in the south in 24 hours. I wonder why after 4 years the situation is still deteriorating further. I would not be surprised if there were direct or indirect agents for Israel among the Palestinians.

The situation we are in at present is as follows: Israel is hitting the south, Syria is hitting the north and the mountains, and anarchy is rampant throughout Lebanon. I challenge the loyal and sincere people in Lebanon and the Arab world to judge us if we are cooperating with Israel. We are being blamed for not defending ourselves. By defending ourselves we would make it appear as if the accusations leveled against us were true. On the contrary, I accuse and cannot be accused. Why do not we open the records and judge everybody so as to determine who is traitor and who is cooperating with Israel. Had we been cooperating with Israel, the Lebanese question would have ended. Were it not for the Phalangists, Israel would have occupied Lebanon. We Phalangists never wanted Israel. We have been saying that Israel is a foreign body in the Arab world and as such, cannot survive in this Arab sea which is raging against it. Throughout our history, we never wanted Lebanon [as published] to be a foreign body in the Arab world.

[Question] But, Shaykh Pierre, the other side is saying that your collaboration with Israel is evident in the Israeli armored cars which appeared during the recent military parade on the anniversary of the Phalangist Party. How do you explain this contradiction?

[Answer] You are aware that arms exist everywhere. I tell you that the first arms we bought 5 years ago were sold to us by the Palestinians. Now, we are buying arms from everywhere. Buying arms is one thing and collaboration is another. Is there anyone who will not buy arms, even from the devil? Has any Arab country rejected arms? If this is the way the other side understands collaborating then everybody is collaborating with everybody. Collaboration is achieved by signing agreements or by engaging in activities in the enemy's interest. If you buy arms from the devil, it does not mean that you are collaborating with him. The first arms we bought were from Sabra [a Palestinian camp in Beirut] and then from other camps in al-Biqa'.

[Question] Does this mean that the Phalangists bought the tanks from Israel?

[Answer] No, not from Israel. We did not go to Israel to buy them. There are a million brokers. Were the arms bought directly? There are a million brokers even in the neighboring countries. If you want arms, we can sell them to you.

[Question] What about collaboration with the "Muslim brotherhood?"

[Answer] Shame. Such talk is sinful. We do not know any of them and we have no relations whatever with any of them.

[Question] Have you communicated these explanations to the Syrians?

[Answer] Once again I tell you that, merely by defending ourselves, we would be degrading ourselves.

We have cooperated with President al-Asad, Minister Khaddam, al-Khuli and al-Shihabi with due respect and appreciation. I ask them: Have they ever cooperated with anyone more honest and sincere than us? If you insist, I can tell you that President al-Asad cannot possibly approve of what is happening in Lebanon. It would not surprise me if there were two groups in Syria--a Syrian group seeking Syria's interests before anything else, and a group cooperating with the international left which seeks destruction. I cannot possibly imagine that al-Asad approves of what is happening in Lebanon. I am saying this because I have known the man closely and understood his real views.

[Question] Let us move again to Lebanon and talk about Maronite reconciliation in light of the task undertaken by Vatican secretary Cardinal Casaroli, who returned to the Vatican without achieving this reconciliation. Despite all that has happened, is this reconciliation among the Maronites still likely?

[Answer] It is strange that a person like [former] President Sulayman Franjiyah, who knows us, should take such a stand. We have cooperated with this man with all sincerity and honesty. I very humbly say that, had it not been for the Phalangists, Franjiyah would not have continued in office as president during the last 7 months of his term. He was in a very unenviable position. Despite the enmity, malevolence and injustice he is showing toward the Phalangists, I wonder if I can ask President Franjiyah whether he is conscientiously and honestly convinced that the Phalangists would perpetrate a deed such as the Idhin operation [the assassination of Franjiyah's son Tony and Tony's wife and daughter]? Can he possibly think that the Phalangist Party is criminal? President Franjiyah demands the trial of those responsible. I too demand their trial because, had the judiciary moved and tried the perpetrators of the Idhin operation and the operations that took place before and after it, we would not have reached the present state.

[Question] Do you think that there is a quick solution to the problems of the north?

[Answer] A quick solution can be achieved when we are left alone to settle our issues and agree among ourselves. I am sure that Sulayman Franjiyah is sincerely trying to resolve the problem, but I would not be surprised if a third party were preventing him from doing so.

[Question] So you believe that national detente can be achieved if the Arab states take their hands off Lebanon?

[Answer] Let the Arab world take its hands off Lebanon and leave us alone! It really wants reconciliation and to play a positive role, and I can guarantee a comprehensive reconciliation. I regret to say that the major part of our tragedies is from the Arab world, particularly some Arab states. All the Arab states are trying to prevent the same tragedies in their own countries, but they will reach them.

[Question] It is known that the Lebanese Front has expressed reservations on a number of principles contained in the message on detente, especially in connection with the relationship with the Palestinians, coordination with Syria and the assertion of Lebanon's Arab character. Why?

[Answer] I will be frank with you. We have not expressed reservations on the relationship with the Palestinians. We said that we want the Palestinians to live in Lebanon as friends and brothers--and I am not saying as refugees--and to respect the country hosting them. This is all that we ask of them. As for our reservations regarding coordination with Syria, I would like to explain the following: It is natural that our dealings with Syria should be special because the relations that exist between us and Syria do not exist with any other country. Our relations are naturally special, without agreements, because the mere existence of agreements or the imposition of conditions harms cooperation.

[Question] Your possession of weapons makes a section of the Lebanese--the Muslim section--afraid that you might use these weapons against it. Should not the Phalangist Party surrender its weapons in order to facilitate detente?

[Answer] It is a shame that weapons should remain in the hands of the militia. If peace is achieved, we will surrender our weapons, because the militia are an enormous burden on us and a great misfortune, but we are forced to take up arms to defend ourselves. Now, you are with me here in the Phalangist headquarters while bullets are flying outside; if it were not for the militia, who would protect us?

[Question] The army?

[Answer] For 3 years I have been saying that no one can take the place of the state. The biggest service we can do is to help in the restoration of the state, so that it can rule by force. The country cannot live without a legitimate state. It is shameful to have militias in a country. It is regrettable that arms should be in the hands of the individuals. This is barbaric. We would be the first to surrender our weapons and get rid of them.

[Question] Finally, do you believe that Lebanon will rise again?

[Answer] Had you asked me this question in 1975 and 1976, I would have hesitated to answer it, because my faith in the Lebanese formula was shaken in 1976, but after the recent events, my faith in Lebanon grew. I say: As soon as security is established in Lebanon, it will prosper again. The Lebanese, both Muslims and Christians, are now convinced of Lebanon's strength, its greatness and its formula. As soon as the foreigner takes his hands off us and off our country, we will become the strongest country in the area. The best example of this is that we have been able to endure a great deal during the past 5 years. This is proof that God is with Lebanon. It is a miracle. My faith in this country is now stronger than before.

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EX-PRESIDENT FRANJIYAH INTERVIEWED ON DANGERS FACING LEBANON

LD251025 Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 21-27 Apr 80 pp 10-12

[Interview with Sulayman Franjiyah, former Lebanese president, by Na'im 'Asafiri and 'Ali Hamadah--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] After 5 years during which Lebanon experienced bloody incidents and periods of calm and caution, the country is now in a state of neither detente nor war. What is the way to end this state?

[Answer] For 2 of these 5 years, the Lebanese fought to preserve their country and to defend their homeland. The war ended with the assumption by President Ilyas Sarkis of his powers. This was followed by the Riyadh conference at which several resolutions were adopted, particularly the resolution to place a deterrent Arab force at the Lebanese president's disposal to restore the legitimate authority and the country's sovereignty over all Lebanese territory.

That resolution was implemented and an Arab deterrent force was sent to Lebanon and its presence has had a tangible effect. Up to 8 February 1978, Lebanon experienced a normal situation which helped it regain the basic factors of normality, particularly in the sphere of security and economy. But this situation did not last long because stability did not please those who had plotted for instability and civil war--I mean the Americans and Israelis.

When the al-Fayyadiyah incident took place, things began to change. The plotters proceeded to implement their second plan. The first plan was to trigger sedition, evicting the Christians from Lebanon and replacing them by the Palestinians and giving the Palestinians land as a substitute for the West Bank and Gaza. That would have served Israel, solved its problems and put an end to the Palestinian issue. But the first plan failed and the plotters resorted to implementing the second plan whose objective was to create disturbance of a new kind in Lebanon that would lead to its partition. The partitioning of Lebanon means the establishment of a racist ('unsuri--Arabic) country on a small part of it while the rest of Lebanese territory would be sufficient to absorb the Palestinians and their resettlement. But this plan also failed.

Now, we are experiencing the third plan--and I hope I am not right in my assessment. The third plot is meant for south Lebanon. It provides for evicting the inhabitants from the greater part of the south in order to offer it as a substitute homeland for the Palestinians. The Israeli army's entry into the south could signify the implementation of the first step of the plan to evict the inhabitants of the south.

We wonder, how can we rid ourselves of these plots. Alone, Lebanon cannot frustrate the plotters' conspiracies. All the Arab brothers should rush to support Lebanon by various means. Lebanon must utilize all its diplomatic capabilities also. It should ask the pope to intercede with the United States in particular so that the United States and Israel will desist from implementing the third plan to which I have just referred.

[Question] Many dangers have threatened the Lebanese entity--partition, settlement [of the Palestinians] and Israeli aggression which is linked with the former two elements. What are the priorities for confronting these dangers?

[Answer] Certainly, we give priority to the question of partition. Without partition settlement [of Palestinians] cannot take place. I must stress this point. If Lebanon remains united, there will be no settlement of Palestinians in Lebanon. I doubt if anyone accepts the settlement of the Palestinians, not to spite the Palestinians but in order to preserve the Arab cause and Jerusalem.

[Question] If the northern parliamentary bloc was asked to participate in a government of national detente, what would your attitude be and what conditions would you demand for participating in it?

[Answer] To achieve actual detente, the president must first implement clause seven of the principles he himself announced--the clause which provides for not cooperating with Israel in any way. If the proposed government includes members who cooperate with Israel, how can we cooperate with such a government. As long as none of the officials who have cooperated with Israel are brought to trial, there will be no cooperation and no agreement.

[Question] Some say: Forget the past and let bygones be bygones.

[Answer] It is possible to forget a crime committed against an individual but to forget a crime committed against the homeland is in itself a crime.

[Question] It has been reported that you, [former] Prime Minister Karami and [leader of the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party] Walid Junblatt were going to establish a bloc. What has prevented the establishment of this bloc so far?

[Answer] You describe it as not having been established. A bloc is established not only by setting out principles and putting ink on paper.

Walid Junblatt, Karami and I are agreed on the national principles and on all the plans and means that will lead to the realization of our principles in the interest of Lebanon. We are moving in one direction. A large number of other persons and organizations are in solidarity with us. There is no need for a formal written agreement. We are still moving along the same course.

[Question] Raymond Iddih says that the American plot against Lebanon is continuing. Do you share his view?

[Answer] The plotter is America acting for the benefit of Israel. Iddih's statement is 100 percent correct. We read in today's newspapers that Iddih will soon visit to the United States. Maybe he will be able to persuade the Americans to take their hands off Lebanon and change their concept about the Middle East crisis--the concept that the crisis will not end except at the expense of Lebanon. I am sure he will try to do that.

[Question] Then, you support him in his endeavor?

[Answer] Undoubtedly and without reservations.

[Question] Do you believe that the way to national detente is through conciliation among the Maronites? Or must detente transcend sectarian and territorial considerations and be achieved without consensus and by the decision of the authorities.

[Answer] The Maronite issue has not been and will never be a problem with regard to national detente. Detente is not confined to the Maronites. It is a national issue that concerns all the people of the country. If we link national detente to conciliation among the Maronites, the issue would become more complicated. The Maronite dispute is between two factions which do not represent all of Lebanon but probably only 25 percent of it. Linking the two questions together would only undermine national detente.

[Question] Will the disputing factions agree to meet face to face to resolve their problems?

[Answer] We have publicly declared through AN-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AD-DUWALI that we will forget all personal differences provided that those who are proved to have cooperated with the enemy are punished.

[Question] Sources say that a meeting between you and President Sarkis is likely to take place?

[Answer] I have not given it a thought.

[Question] Does this mean that the road to B'abda [the presidential palace] is not paved?

[Answer] It is not paved. It will become paved when B'abda asserts its presence.

[Question] It is being said that B'abda has not asserted itself because the various factions do not wish its presence to be asserted?

[Answer] In order to absolve itself, B'abda must openly say that someone is tampering with its presence. This announcement must be made clearly and frankly and not within four walls as is now happening.

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END

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WORLDWIDE REPORT: Epidemiology
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Law of the Sea
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Nuclear Development and Proliferation
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Telecommunications Policy, Research and Development

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8 May 1980

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